

**THE CATEGORIAL STATUS AND THE FUNCTIONS
OF THE YORUBA AUXILIARY VERBS WITH SOME
STRUCTURAL ANALYSES IN GPSG**

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I certify that this thesis has been composed by myself
and that the work contained in it is entirely my own.

L.O. Adéwolé

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Symbols and Conventions

1. The symbol * (asterisk) precedes an ungrammatical construction and follows a set.
2. The symbol ** (two asterisks) follows works cited from the comprehensive bibliography in Appendix C.
3. The symbol *** (three asterisks) precedes part of this work already accepted for publication which we include in the comprehensive bibliography in Appendix C.
4. / = Or/Slash (i.e. a/b means "a or b" or "a slash b")
5. {} = Set/Or (i.e. {a} means "a or b" and {a,b,c} is "the set which consists of a,b,c,")
6. < = Precede or is derived from or less than
7. << = Immediately precede
8. @ = Alpha
9. \Rightarrow = Implication
10. \in = Is a member of
11. <> = Ordered pairs
12. () = Categories not yet discussed

Note on the Bibliographies

- There are two bibliographies in this work. The one in Appendix C is about to be published and is concerned with published works and doctoral dissertations on Yoruba. The second concerns other work cited. For instance, "Oyelaran (1976:10)**" stands for "Page 10 of a work written by Oyelaran in 1976 included in the bibliography in Appendix C" while "Oyelaran (1976:10)" means "Page 10 of another work written by Oyelaran in 1976 included in the other bibliography".

Abbreviations

1. A = Adjective
2. ACC = Accusative
3. ADV = Adverb
4. ADVP = Adverbial Phrase
5. AGR = Agreement
6. ALT = Alternant
7. AP = Adjective Phrase
8. APS = Aspect and Phase Systems
9. ASP = Aspect
10. ASS = Assumptive
11. ASSOC = Associative
12. AUX = Universal Category
13. Aux = Language-specific instantiation of AUX
14. BSE = Bare Infinitive
15. C = Consonant
16. CAP = Control Agreement Principle
17. CAT = Category
18. COMP = Complementizer
19. EMPH = Emphasis
20. FCR = Feature Cooccurrence Restriction
21. FFP = Foot Feature Principle
22. Fn = Footnote
23. FOC = Focus
24. FSD = Feature Specification Default
25. FUT = Future Tense
26. GPSG = Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar

- 27. H = Head
- 28. HAB = Habitual
- 29. HFC = Head Feature Convention
- 30. HTS = High Tone Syllable
- 31. ID = Immediate Dominance
- 32. IMPFV = Imperfective
- 33. INF = Infinitive
- 34. INT = Intensifier
- 35. LP = Linear Precedence
- 36. LPR = Linear Precedence Rule
- 37. M = Modal Verb
- 38. MOD = Modifying Verb
- 39. N = Noun or Nasal
- 40. NML = Nominalized
- 41. NOM = Nominal
- 42. NUM = Number
- 43. OBL = Obligative
- 44. P = Preposition
- 45. PER = Person
- 46. PERF = Perfective
- 47. PFORM = Case-marking Preposition
- 48. PH = Phase
- 49. PL = Plural
- 50. POT = Potential
- 51. PP = Preposition Phrase
- 52. PRED = Predicate
- 53. PRO = Pronoun

- 54. PROB = Probable
- 55. PROG = Progressive
- 56. PRT = Particle
- 57. PS = Phrase Structure
- 58. Q = Question
- 59. REL = Relative Clause
- 60. S = Sentence
- 61. SER = Serial Verbs
- 62. SPEC = Specifier
- 63. SPLIT = Splitting Verb
- 64. SUBCAT = Subcategory
- 65. SUB = Subject
- 66. TAS = Tense and Aspect Systems
- 67. TMA = Tense, Modal and Aspect Systems
- 68. TNS = Tense
- 69. V = Verb or Vowel or Element
- 70. VFORM = Verb Form
- 71. VP = Verb Phrase
- 72. WH = WH-Construction

Abstract of the Thesis

The objective of this study is to provide a comprehensive descriptive analysis of Yoruba auxiliary verbs. The first chapter is an introduction to the language. Here, the need for a comprehensive linguistic bibliography on the language is stressed and one is provided as an appendix (Appendix C) to this work.

The second chapter takes up the question of the categorial status of the Yoruba auxiliary verbs and identifies the items that should belong to this class of verb. The following three chapters concern the functions of the items so far classified:

Chapter 3 discusses the aspect and phase systems in the language. Chapter 4 takes up the modal system and Chapter 5 is concerned with some aspects of negation in the language.

The structures of the auxiliary and some related subclasses of verb are discussed within the framework of Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar (GPSG) in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 discusses cooccurrence restrictions among auxiliary verbs also within the framework of GPSG.

Chapter 8 is the conclusion. Some of the contributions of the study to Yoruba grammar in particular and universal grammar in general are discussed.

To

Dr. O.O. Oyelaran

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Yoruba, a language which belongs to the Kwa family within the Niger-Congo phylum of African Languages, is the language spoken in the LOOKO¹ states (Lagos, Oyo, Ogun, Kwara and Ondo) of Nigeria. It is regarded as one of the major languages of the country. Apart from Nigeria, it is spoken in the East and Central Benin and in isolated pockets in the rest of Benin². Of the unifying traditions among Yoruba in Nigeria, Togo and Benin, Oyelaran (1978a:626)** quotes Igwe (1976:10) as presenting enough linguistic evidence to show that the relationship of the three groups "is more than a mere expression of ... interaction with ... neighbours". Oyelaran then goes on to use the longitudes between 20° and 6° 30' East of the meridian and latitudes 6° and 9° 30' to define the homeland of the Yoruba in Nigeria. The people are highly urbanized and possess a hierarchical social structure.

According to Oyelaran (1978a:626)***, the dialects of Yoruba can be classified as follows:

(a) West Yoruba (WY).

- (1) Òyó, Ìbàdàn, Ègbá, Ohori-Ifohin.
- (2) Upper Ogun.
 - (i) Šakí, Ijio.
 - (ii) Kétu, Sábèṣé.
- (3) Benin and Togo.
Ifẹ (Togo), Idasa, Manigi.

(b) South East Yoruba (SEY)

- (1) Oṇdó, Ọwọ.
- (2) Ìjẹbú.
- (3) Ìkálẹ, Ìlájẹ.

(c) Central Yoruba (CY).

Ilé-Ifẹ̀, Ìjẹ̀ṣa, Èkìtì.

(d) Northern Eastern Yoruba (NEY).

(1) Ìgbómìnà, Kàkàṇḍa, Igbolo.

(2) Jumu, Bunu, Oworo, Owe Egbe.

This classification is referred to as a "dialect continuum"³ because the dialects are characterized by a high degree of mutual intelligibility which diminishes with territorial distance. As one moves from one end of the continuum to the other, some phonological, lexical and even some grammatical differences can be found in the dialects. (Bamgbose 1966a:2, Agheyisi 1984:235)**.

With the above varieties of Yoruba Language, the question that crops up now concerns the variety that should form the basis of one's analysis. The variety to be used in this work is the one often called the standard variety. On this standard variety of Yoruba, Bamgbose (1966:2)** makes the following comments.

For the purpose of education, writing and contact between persons of different dialects, the type of Yoruba used is a "Koine" which may be called Standard Yoruba. This Koine is based on Oyo dialect, but it is not co-extensive with it. For instance, non-standard forms exist in the dialect, and the Koine has certain forms which do not occur in the dialect but which are found in some other dialects.

The "standard" Yoruba may therefore be considered as that variety of Yoruba employed in school instruction, in public speaking, broadcasting and it serves not only as the written and literary standard for the entire language community but also as the "High" variety in a diglossic relationship with other varieties.

The International African Institute (1980:60)** classifies the status of this standard variety which is representative of all other varieties as follows:

- Yoruba is spoken as a first language by 20% of Nigerian population.
- The effective speakers of the language in the country are about 25% of the country's total population.
- It is used by the Media i.e. The Press, Radio and Television.
- It is also used as a language of formal instruction and a curriculum subject in the primary school. In the secondary and post-secondary level (including university), it is a curriculum subject.
- It has a standard orthography.

The awareness of Yoruba Language and Culture is not limited to Nigeria, Togo and Benin. Turner (1958:45)** notes that Yoruba is still spoken in Brazil and Cuba and that many surviving speakers of the language can be found in the United States and the New World regions. Watkins (1972:380)** also speaks of the preservation of the language by the descendants of slaves in Cuba and Brazil as well as by people whose ancestors entered Brazil as free immigrants. He also notes that specimens of Yoruba culture are generally less difficult to obtain in West Africa than those of many other peoples of Saharan Africa. Abimbola's (1978:2)⁴ remark about the Brazilian blacks on his visit to Brazil is worth quoting here. He says:

Lastly, I would like to record here my appreciation of the rousing reception and hospitality which our brothers and sisters accorded me in Bahia. The welcome salutes, embraces, greetings and hearty reception to which I was treated made me feel like I was in a traditional community in the heart of black Africa, and convinced me beyond mere words that the black people of Brazil still share a common world view, thought and behavioural process with their cousins in Africa.

Abimbola's remark is corroborated by that of Hunt (1977:17&51)** who, while discussing how "Yoruba had been championing the cause of cultural redemption" in America, states that "Many of the slaves brought to the Americas were Yoruba, and scarcely any other African people continue to

influence New World Culture more than they. Descendants of Yoruba slaves, some of whom still have a knowledge of the language and customs, are found today in Cuba where they are known as Lucumi, and in Brazil where they are known as Nago". According to Lasebikan (1963:352)** , a Course in Yoruba Language and Culture at the University of Bahia's Department of Afro-Oriental Studies has helped the growth of Yoruba Language and Culture in "the use of Yoruba as a means of communication, the wearing of Yoruba dress at social functions, and the introduction of ayo, foremost of Yoruba indoor games".

Finally, mention should be made of Oseijeman Adefunmi's Yoruba Movement which began in 1959 and is centred at Oyotunji Village, Sheldon, South Carolina, U.S.A. Here was established the Yoruba Royal Academy where the Yoruba language is taught and one of the qualifications required to become a chief in the Village is a good command of Yoruba. (Hunt 1977:82&93)** .

1.1. Works written on the Yoruba Language

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to review all the works that have been written on Yoruba . These are so many that on the literary scene, Gerald (1981:258-259) states that there is nowhere in Africa "where historical and critical evaluation of the literature in the local language is being pursued with as much zest and efficiency as among the Yoruba intelligentsia" who have shown an "exceptional degree of creativity in both African and European Languages".

On the linguistic scene, Carnochan (1964:397)** claims that "Yoruba is one of the best documented languages in Nigeria and Agheyisi (1984:235)** , while discussing the major, minor and minority languages of Nigeria, also states that "in the West, the Yoruba speaking group constituted the overwhelming majority, making up over 80% of the regional population – followed by Edo

with a mere 7%. Yoruba therefore was the undisputed major language, and it inevitably dominates the regional linguistic scene”.

What all this shows is that a satisfactory review of the previous works written on the language would swell the volume of this work unduly. What is actually required is a comprehensive linguistic bibliography of the language. A careful search shows there is no work of this kind compiled on the language. Those available are either compiled on African/Nigerian languages as a whole in which there are few entries on Yoruba (e.g. Meier 1984; Ita 1971)** or those compiled on many Yoruba disciplines (i.e. Literature, History etc.) in which linguistics is just one (e.g. Baldwin and Baldwin 1976)**. What we have done is to include a comprehensive bibliography as an appendix (Appendix C) in this work and refer readers to the following, among others, which review some of the major works written on the language:

Hair (1967:4-30)** discusses the history of Yoruba language studies. Ajayi (1960:49-58)** concerns himself with how the language was reduced to writing. Bamgbose (1966:2-5; 1969:85-100)** discusses the trend of development of the language and reviews the previous works written on the language up to 1963. His 1966 work is described as the first work on Yoruba based on a specific linguistic theory by a linguist who himself is a Yoruba (Rowlands (1967:736))**. Oke (1969)** reviews most of the works written on Yoruba verbs including that of Bamgbose. Awoyale (1974)** takes a critical look at some aspects of Bamgbose, Oke and Awobuluyi's (1967)** works which are relevant to his own study.

In compiling the bibliography, we agree with the editorial statement of THE AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS 1, 1979 which states in part that (see Newman (1979)):

The use of the phrase "Languages and Linguistics" in the title expresses our view that the opposition often drawn between Language study (thought of as empirical) and Linguistic study (thought of as theoretical) is invalid. Our opinion is that different linguists simply work at greater or lesser degrees of abstractness and that interesting and worthwhile studies in the African Language field are to be found all along the continuum.

In the same manner, apart from Ph.D. dissertations and published articles, books and other publications on the language which add to our knowledge of language and linguistic phenomena are included in the bibliography. With the above, what remains to be done is the review of previous studies which concern us in this work. These, we shall take up where they become relevant in the course of our discussion.

1.2. Yoruba Orthography

Yoruba is a tone language. Siertsema (1963:22)** defines a tone language as one "in which two different words with different meaning have the same sounds but differ only in tones". In this work, we shall speak of three tones. These are "high" which is written as "´" as in:

- (1) Ó wá
He come
"He came"⁵

"low" which is written as "̀" as in:

- (2) Kò wẹ
Not bath
"He did not take his bath"

and "mid" which is unmarked except on a syllabic nasal where it is marked as "◌̃".

Here, then, we can have:

- (3) O lɔ
 You go
 "You went"

where the mid tone is not marked on the vowels but marked in (4):

- (4) gbaṅgba "outside"

where the "n" is syllabic.

There are three syllable structures in the language. These are CV, V, and N (syllabic nasal). It is only V and N that can be tone-marked. It should also be mentioned here that tones in the language are phonemic. Commenting on the importance of tone in Yoruba, Ladefoged (1975:226)** states that "speakers of English often find it hard to consider the tone as an important, meaningful part of a word. But for speakers of a tone language, a difference in tone is just as significant as a difference in consonant or vowel quality. If you are trying to say "he looked" in Yoruba, and you say Ó wà instead of Ó wá, it will sound just as odd as if you had said "he licked" instead of "he looked" in English.

1.2.1. Vowels

Seven vowels are found in standard Yoruba and these are:

i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u.

These orthographic representations are the same as the phonetic representations except "ɛ" and "ɔ" which are represented phonetically as [ɛ̃] and [ɔ̃] respectively. There are also some nasalized vowels which are distinct from the oral ones. For example, the difference between tà "sell" and tàn "deceive" is that while the vowel in the former is oral that of the latter is nasalized. We shall take account of the following nasalized vowels in this work:

in, ɛ̃n, an, ɔ̃n, un⁶.

These can be exemplified as follows:

ìyìn "praise"
 ìyɛ̃n "that"
 ìtàn "story"
 ìbɔ̃n "gun"
 irun "hair"

All the underlined items are nasalized vowels. Apart from word final position, nasalized vowels also occur first in a consonant-initial word (i.e. tànká "spread") and word medial position (i.e. àpɔ̃nlé "cherish"). The nasal vowels are represented phonetically as:

in [ɪ̃], en [ɛ̃], an [ã], on [ɔ̃] and un [ũ].

1.2.2. Consonants

Yoruba has the following consonants:

b, d, f, g, gb, h, j, k, l,
 m, n, p, r, s, s̰, t, w, y.

All the symbols used here have their I.P.A. value except the following:

j = [dʒ]
 y = [j]
 s = [ʃ]
 p = [kp]

[kp] and [gb] are the voiceless and voiced labial velar plosives respectively. They are "produced with simultaneous double articulation – simultaneous closure if they occur after vowels and simultaneous release before following vowels" (Welmers 1973:46)**. An approximation to this type of stop sound may be made by pronouncing the English phrase "big boy" and then trying to divide it after the first vowel: bi-gboy" (Stevick and Aremu 1963:xiii)**. In the same

manner, [kp] can also be approximated by pronouncing the phrase "pork pie" as "por-kpie". The voiced bilabial plosive [b] has no voiceless counterpart in Yoruba and diacritics such as dots are used in the orthography e.g. to distinguish "s" = [ʃ] (The voiceless palato-alveolar fricative) from "s" = [s] (the voiceless alveolar fricative).

All syllabic nasals will be represented in this work with the symbol /n/ whatever their phonetic value. This is in line with such writers as Bamgbose (1966)** and Abraham (1958)**. The following homorganic nasals in (5) and (6) will be represented in the work with the underlined item in (7) and (8):

(5) Mo n̄ lɔ̌
I () go
"I am going"

(6) Mo m̄ bɔ̌
I () come
"I am coming"

(7) Mo n̄ lɔ̌
I () go
"I am going"

(8) Mo n̄ bɔ̌
I () come
"I am coming"

All the examples cited in the work will be correctly spelt and fully tone-marked as recommended in the Modern Orthography except in the areas in which we are of the opinion that the orthography needs some modification.

1.3. Basic Order Typology

With regards to the basic order typology in Yoruba, the relative order of subject, verb and object in simple declarative sentences with nominal subject and object is SVO as in:

- (9) Ó na Adé
He hit Ade
"He hit Ade"

Ó "He" in (9) is a pronoun, na⁷ "hit" is a verb and Adé is a noun. The structure of the relative clauses and the descriptive adjective is in the form of modified-modifier while that of the associative constructions is the reverse i.e. modifier-modified. These can be exemplified as follows:

Relative Clause.

- (10) Olú tí ó lẹ
Olu REL he go
"Olu who went"

Adjectival Modifier.

- (11) Ọmọ dúdú
child black
"A black child"

Associative Construction.

- (12) Ọmọ ọn Dúdú
Child ASSOC Dúdu
"Dúdu's child"

Yoruba is a prepositional rather than a postpositional language. The three prepositions are:

- (i) tí - for expressing point of departure
in time or space;
- (ii) sí - for goal, including non-directional
goal;
- (iii) ní - for location.

(Oyelaran 1983a:2)

There is no special inflected adjective form or adjectival modifier to indicate comparison such as "-er" in English as in "John is taller than James". Comparison and Superlatives are expressed with the verb jù having the general meaning "to surpass" in normal declarative sentence constructions. The earlier

grammarians called this word an adverb meaning "more" or "very" (Ward 1952:3)**. However, recent studies have shown that the word belongs to the set of verbs that obligatorily take part in serial verb constructions where we have more than one verb in a sentence as in:

- (13) Ó ga ju Dàda lɔ
 He tall surpass Dada go
 "He is taller than Dada"

Languages that make use of verbs in this type of construction have been referred to as VERBY languages (Stassen 1985:178)**. Meeussen (1975:3-4) also refers to this system of indicating comparison and superlative expressions without inflections as one of the syntactic aspects of linguistic Africanism. By this, he means the "characteristics which are general or frequent in African Languages but absent or rare elsewhere".

Oyelaran (1976) has convincingly established that all the adverbs in the language occur postverbally as in:

- (14) Ó lɔ kíákíá
 He go quickly
 "He went quickly"

- (15) Ó lɔ rí
 He go before
 "He has gone there before"

Awoyale (1983)** argues for the recognition of the verb infinitive in the language. This, according to him, is marked by the lengthening of the last vowel of the word preceding the infinitive verb. The lengthened vowel carries a high tone as in:

- (16) Ó fế ế lợ
He want INF go
"He wants to go"
- (17) Ó bệ ệ sí i ế ế ế
He start () work INF do
"He starts to work (He starts working)"
- (18) Ó bệ ệ sí í lợ
He start () INF go
"He starts to go"

Yes/No questions are differentiated from the corresponding assertion by intonation. These types of non-WH question employ an intonation contour to distinguish statements from questions. This is achieved merely by the use of a raised contour for the sentence.

The second type of non-WH-question is marked by grammatical items. They can occur at clause initial position as in:

- (19) Ợ ố ố ố?
Q he come?
"Has he arrived?"

or clause finally as in:

- (20) Ợ ố ố ố?
He come Q?
"Has he arrived?"

There are two types of WH-question in the language. The first is the one often referred to as the echo-Wh-question. This is so called because it involves one person echoing the speech of another as in the following:

- (21) Speaker A: Má fi ợ ợ kần ấ.
NEG use hand touch it.
"Do not touch it."

Speaker B: Má fi ɔwó kan kí ni?
 Neg use hand touch what?
 "Do not touch what?"

The other Wh-questions are indicated by nominals such as ta "who", kí "what", èwo "which" etc. These nominals are obligatorily topicalized and occur at clause initial position in this type of construction. This can be seen in (22)-(24)⁸.

- (22) Ta ni òyè?
 Who FOC that ?
 "Who is that ?"
- (23) Kí ni òyè?
 What FOC that ?
 "What is that ?"
- (24) Èwo ni òyè?
 Which FOC that ?
 "Which is that ?"

Yoruba pronouns show distinctions for both person and number as shown below.

SUBJECT

SINGULAR
 mo "I"
 o "you"
 ɔ "he/she"

PLURAL
 a "we"
 ẹ "you"
 wọ́n "they"

OBJECT

SINGULAR
 mi "me"
 o "you"
 i⁹ "it/him/her"

PLURAL
 wa "us"
 yin "you"
 won "them"

Yoruba nouns are not inflected for the category of number and there is no grammatical gender.

1.4. Sources of Information

For the examples used in this work, we rely on ourselves. However, examples of doubtful acceptability are referred to other native speakers for their comments. Yoruba fictional narratives and other recorded texts that indicate junctural features also provide useful material for our analysis¹⁰. Following Dale (1975:82), our linguistic investigation could be described as being based on:

- (i) Recorded texts
- (ii) Analyst's intuition (introspection)
- (iii) Others' intuitions
- (iv) Fictional narratives

1.5. Nature of the Work

This work is aimed at providing a descriptive analysis of the Yoruba auxiliary verbs. We start by examining the issues of the categorial status of the Yoruba auxiliaries. We then identify the items that should belong to this class of verb and discuss the functions of the items so analysed. Although the work contains some structural analyses in GPSG, the study does not attempt to give an account of the language within the framework of the grammar. The theory is used to discuss the relationship between the auxiliary verbs and some other classes of verb often confused with them in the literature and to describe the distribution of the Yoruba auxiliary verbs.

Notes and References to Chapter 1

1. A similar term, "LOOBO" was used by Tai Solarin, an educationist, to describe the States controlled by the defunct Unity Party of Nigeria between 1979 and 1983. "LOOBO" stands for Lagos, Ondo, Ogun, Bendel and Oyo States of Nigeria. Watkins (1972:1)** refers to the old Western Region, which apart from Kwara State comprise the present LOOKO States as "the primary centre of Yoruba habitation". The population of Yoruba speakers is still an enigma. Bamgbose (1966:2)** says the language is spoken by about twelve million people in Nigeria alone. In her recent writing, Lawal (1983:4)** gives the population as 20 million "about a third of the Nigerian population". Eades (1980:2)** says that "a figure of 15 million for the Yoruba peoples as a whole is probably of the right order of magnitude" and he illustrates this figure with some tables which we include in this work as Appendix A. The tables are rearranged to fit our use of the term LOOKO for the States. Two maps locating the Yoruba in Nigeria, Togo and Benin are also included in the appendix.
2. See Oyelaran (1976a:1)**
3. A situation where "speakers from village A can communicate with those from village B, who are able to converse with speakers from C; these, in turn, can communicate with speakers from village D. However, speakers from A cannot hold a conversation with speakers from D, and without the evidence of intervening stages, one would be tempted to say that they spoke different languages. But it is impossible to say at what point along the continuum the change from one form of the language to another occurs or to determine how many distinct forms there are" (Cruse 1986:71).
4. Some chants by Balbino, a Sango Priest at BALBINO DANIEL OF SANGO AGANJU, SALVADOR recorded by Abimbola (1978:9-12) on his visit to Brazil is included as Appendix B in this work. The fact that any literate Yoruba person can read and understand the chants attests to Turner and Watkins claims.
5. When Yoruba examples are given in the work, especially those of phrases and sentences, a three-line presentation will often be adopted. The first line will be the Yoruba written in the orthography to be described below. The second line will present a rough word by word English gloss of the utterance. The third will gloss the utterance as a whole in understandable English.
6. Some Yoruba writers recognize only four (i.e. Bamgbose 1963, Abraham 1958)** or even three (i.e. Welmers 1973)**

nasal vowels. The reason for these are the claims that an and on do not contrast in the language and that en occurs only in some dialects. For clarity, we have adopted the five-phoneme nasalized-vowel system without contesting the above points.

7. A verb having a low tone changes to mid before an NP object i.e. sè "cook", Ó se ọ̀bẹ̀ "He cooks soup/stew"
8. For a comprehensive discussion on the source of WH Question in Yoruba, see Olowookere (1985).
9. The third person singular object is a lengthening of the root vowel of verb. If the verb ends in a low or mid tone as in Ó lẹ́ ọ́ "He grinds it" and Ó jẹ́ ẹ́ "He eats it", the pronoun will have a high tone otherwise, it will have a mid tone as in Ó lẹ́ ọ̀ "He plants it" and Ó jẹ́ ẹ̀ "He answers his call".
10. The use of texts as a source of information in linguistic research in the language has been criticized by Oke (1969)**. According to him, writers are not often sure about how the features of elision and junctural tonal change should be represented and that in most cases, these are left out. He states further that where these are of grammatical significance, the analyst may have problems in analysing sentences taken from such text. The junctural tone change is not a great problem in the examples used in this work because, these days, texts are transcribed from recorded collections and with some modified version of the language's modern orthography, all segments and tones are fully represented in some of the recently written narratives. An example of recorded texts we have in mind is that of Adeboye Babalola's THE CONTENT AND FORM OF YORUBA IJALA and that of the recently written narratives is Oladejo Okediji's ATOTO ARERE.

CHAPTER 2

THE CATEGORIAL STATUS OF THE YORUBA AUXILIARY VERBS

2.1. Introduction

English has been described by Zwicky (1986:1) as the first language of most linguistic theories in this century. A good example to show the correctness of Zwicky's remark is the AUX hypothesis. For instance, twenty years or so after the "original AUX hypothesis" (McCawley 1985:849) of Chomsky, English has served as its main language of exemplification. It is not until the very end of the last decade and the beginning of this that "the question of the extension of the Category AUX¹ beyond English and the general issue of the bases for the application of the categorial label cross-linguistically" (Steele 1986:396) are addressed by Akmajian *et al.* (1979) and Steele *et al.* (1981).

In addition, in Heny and Richards (1983) whose major objective is to examine the hypothesis of Akmajian *et al.* (1979) and Steele *et al.* (1981), one of the two volumes is devoted entirely to the study of the English Auxiliary Verbs.

In contrast, there are only two studies of the Auxiliaries in Yoruba, Oke (1972)** and Oyelaran (1982a). Both clearly distinguish between auxiliary and verb² and argue for the recognition of the Auxiliary as a distinct category. The main topic of this chapter is to argue against the establishment of the category Aux in Yoruba. We will first present the criteria for Aux-hood as defined by Steele *et al.* (1981) and use these to review the two studies just mentioned. We will then present arguments to show that given Steele *et al.*'s criteria for Aux-hood, the category Aux cannot be established for the language and that the items recognized by these two writers should be classified as subclasses of verb. We will then state other aspects of the Auxiliary verbs we shall be discussing in

the remaining six chapters of this work.

2.2. The Properties of AUX

In Steele *et al.* (1981), AUX is defined as follows:

- (1) Given a set of language-internal analyses, those constituents which may contain only a specified (i.e. fixed and small) set of elements, crucially containing elements marking tense and/or modality, will be identified as non distinct. (p. 21).

Other properties of AUX noted in language-specific situation are:

- (2) (a) Aux is a constituent.
- (b) Aux occurs in first, second or final position in an S.
- (c) For most choices of L, Aux may attach to some adjacent element.
- (d) Aux contains a specified, i.e. fixed and small, class of elements.
- (e) These elements occur in a fixed order.
- (f) Aux MUST include elements marking tense and/or modality.
- (g) Aux MAY also include, elements indicating subject marking, subject agreement, questions, evidential, emphasis, aspect, object marking, object agreement, and negation. (pp. 155-156).

(1) and (2) above present the semantic and the syntactic criteria for Aux-hood. We shall regard these as constant and consider whether the category Aux can be established in the language.

2.3. Oke (1972)** and the Auxiliary Cluster

Oke (1972)** classifies as an "auxiliary cluster" any direct sequence of more than one auxiliary element. The following are the elements of his auxiliary cluster (Oke 1972:135)**:

- (3) (i) \acute{M} , $\grave{l}\grave{e}$, $\acute{m}\acute{a}\acute{a}\acute{n}$, $\acute{m}\acute{a}\acute{a}$, $t\acute{i}$, $\grave{s}\grave{i}$.
 (ii) $K\acute{u}k\acute{u}$, $\grave{d}\grave{e}$, $\acute{s}\acute{i}$, $\acute{t}\acute{i}\acute{e}$, $k\grave{a}n$, $\acute{s}\acute{a}\acute{a}$, $\acute{m}\acute{a}$.
 (iii) a , \acute{a} , $y\acute{i}o$, $\acute{b}\acute{a}\acute{a}$, $\acute{b}\acute{a}\acute{a}$, $\acute{b}\acute{a}\acute{a}$, $\acute{b}\acute{a}\acute{a}$ (or sometimes $\acute{b}\acute{a}\acute{a}$ or $\acute{b}\acute{a}\acute{a}$)

He also goes on to reclassify the elements as follows (Oke 1972:137)**:

- The Pre-emptive Auxiliary. The list of elements of this class corresponds to the list (3) (i). In linear order, these are closest to the first occurring Full Verb element in VP and, when the VP includes members of the other Auxiliary subclasses, further from the Negator, $\acute{k}\acute{o}$, or the tonal feature which initiates the VP.
- The Intensifier Auxiliary. The list of intensifiers corresponds to list (3) (ii) above. In the sequence of elements within the VP, members of this sub-class occur between the Modals and the Pre-emptives. A significant feature of this subclass is that all its members may freely occur before the Full Verb in clauses of Secondary Pattern (i.e. clauses in imperative mood) - a position from which all Modals and all Pre-emptives (except \acute{M} , $\acute{s}\acute{i}$ and, in the Negative, $\acute{t}\acute{i}$) are excluded.
- The Modal Auxiliary. The Modal auxiliaries are those listed under (3) (iii). In linear order, these are the farthest away from the first-occurring Full Verb element within the VP and are next to the tonal or Negator onset of the VP. ... they form a sub-class of items that are mutually exclusive and combine only with items from the other two sub-classes or with Full Verb elements. (The only exception to the rule of mutual exclusion is the sequence $y\acute{i}o \acute{b}\acute{a}\acute{a}$).

After mentioning some of the features shared by the Pre-emptive and the Modal subclasses, he argues for the rule in (4) as expressing the "normal 'order of syntactic precedence' among the auxiliaries" (1972:150)**.

- (4) AUX ---> MODALS INTENSIFIERS PRE-EMPTIVES

The class labels in (4), according to him, are unimportant.

2.3.1. Awoyale's (1974)** Comments on Oke (1972)**

Oke's work is undoubtedly "a very useful contribution" (Oyelaran 1982a:1) to the study of Yoruba because it is the first attempt to spell out the elements that

make up the Auxiliary and discuss their semantic aspects in some details. Despite this achievement, Oke's work has not gone uncriticized.

According to Awoyale (1974:18)**,

- (5) Most of the items Oke claims cannot take prefixation to become nominalized items in fact do.

kúkú > àkúkúbí "fact of rather not given birth to a child"

- (6) Examples (a) (b) and (c) contradict Oke's claim that the pre-emptive occurs nearest to the Full Verb.

(a) O máa tún wulẹ̀ lọ
You will again in vain go
"You will go in vain"

(b) O ò mà gbọ́dọ̀ lọ
You not EMPH must go
"You must not go"

(c) O ò sì gbọ́dọ̀ lọ
You not and must go
"And you must not go"

In (6) (a), the element wulẹ̀ "in vain", referred to as a preverb by Awoyale, is closer to the Full Verb than máa "will". The same applies to mà "not" and sì "and" in (6) (b) and (c) respectively where gbọ́dọ̀ "must" precedes the Full Verb immediately. Whereas, with Oke's "normal order of syntactic precedence, the items mà "not" and sì "and" should occur nearer to the Full Verb than gbọ́dọ̀ "must".

2.3.2. Oyelaran's (1982a) Comments on Oke (1972)**

Another linguist who has criticized Oke's work is Oyelaran (1982a). He makes the following points:

- Oke excludes without any explanation the negative marker (NEG) and the high tone syllable (HTS, following Awobuluyi's (1975b)** usage)). The latter occurs (without exception) after,

and is assimilated to the final vowel of all non-pronominal subjects, followed by a Full Verb, as in:

Àwọ̀n ọ̀n túlẹ̀ ẹ́ gba ìsinmi
 They student HTS take leave
 "The students are going on holiday"

- Oke excludes ... without adequate justification formatives such as dede, gboodo on the ground that they may be nominalized like verbs by the prefix "a-".
- The counterexamples to the cooccurrence restrictions Oke proposes for the formatives call for a deeper study of Aux in Yoruba, given especially the tenuousness of the relationship between the accepted usage of the terms 'modal' and 'intensifiers', for example, and the syntactic and semantic content of the formatives assigned to them by Oke.

2.3.3. Further Comments

In support of these two scholars, we do not think nominalization the most appropriate criterion for distinguishing Auxiliary from verb, because items which are not verbs would qualify as verbs. One case of note is that of the PP. From ti ilé "from home" and ti àárò "from morning", both of which are PP, we can derive nominals such as àti ilé "from the house" and àti àárò "from/since the morning". One can show that the derived items are nominals by topicalizing or relativizing them. This is relevant, because only nouns and nominals are either relativized or topicalized in Yoruba. Any element which is neither a noun nor a nominal would first undergo nominalization before it is relativized or topicalized. (7) is the topicalization of the above nominalized items while (8) is the relativized version of the same:

- (7) Àti ilé ni mo ti rí i
 From house FOC. I from see it
 "It was from home that I have seen it"

- (8) Àti ilé tí ń ti rí i ...
 From house REL you () saw it ...
 "The house from where you saw it ...".

Furthermore, nominals such as àti-àárò can follow prepositions, as in (9).

- (9) Mo dúró ní àti àárò
 I wait in from morning
 "I have been waiting since morning"

In addition, not all verbs can be nominalized in the language, even when they constitute by themselves the VP in utterances. In (10) (b), the verb ti constitutes the VP, yet it cannot be nominalized:

- (10) (a) Şé ń lq?
 Q he go?
 "Did he go?"
- (b) ń tì.
 It not
 "No"

We cannot have:

- (11) (a) *àitì "not not"
 (b) *itì "the fact of not"
 (c) *àti tì "the act of not"

Oke's other argument which is quite unsatisfactory is his claim that "whenever the negator kò occurs in a clause, it always marks the onset of a VP" (Oke 1969:96)**. We agree with Oke that this rule applies to sentences such as (12) (a) and (b) where both kúkú "indeed" and lq "go" are elements of the VP as defined by him but the rule will also classify ti ilé "from home", a PP, as the first element of VP in sentence (12) (c).

- (12) (a) Kò lq
 Not go
 "He did not go"

(b) Kò kúkú lọ
 Not indeed go
 "He didn't go at all"

(c) Kò ti ilé lọ
 Not from house go
 "He didn't go from home"

2.4. Oyelaran and the Category Aux

After criticizing Oke's analysis of the Auxiliary Cluster, Oyelaran presents his own analysis of the Auxiliary. He regards the Auxiliary as a category and he claims (personal communication) that Steele *et al.*'s treatment of Category AUX supports his analysis.

2.4.1. Some Objections to Oyelaran's (1982a) Analysis

In this section, we shall show that what Oyelaran regards as Category Aux does not agree, or at best only partially agrees, with the definitional properties proposed by Steele *et al.* or by any other linguist. For one thing, some of the elements identified under his Category Aux have a great deal in common with verbs. This is contrary to AUX as a Category as defined by Steele *et al.* For this reason, we are challenging the claim that the elements of his Category Aux can convincingly be established as a category in the language.

To start with, the only element which is crucial to the establishment of Aux as a language-specific category is not a constituent of Oyelaran's Category Aux. According to him:

TNS is not a constituent of the AUX and is therefore not a grammatical category of the language(It) is not a term within AUX, or within any other auxiliary symbol in the Yoruba Phrase Structure. It is therefore not a grammatical category of the language. (pp. 3&42)

Oyelaran does not claim here that location in time must be expressed

grammatically. Rather, he is of the opinion that the periphrastic apparatus of modality and aspect is far more developed in the language, a claim which is lacking in other descriptions of Yoruba, where verbal grammatical categories have been dominated by tense with aspect being treated as a conceptual waste basket.

Oyelaran's view of Yoruba as a tenseless language is contradictory to the various meanings given to Aux which McCawley (1985:849) summarizes as follows:

Chomsky 1957.

(Aux) meant a constituent consisting of a tense and all the Auxiliary Verbs of the given clause.

Akmajian, Steele and Wasow 1979.

(Aux) meant the tensed Auxiliary Verb.

Steele *et al.* 1981.

(Aux) means a constituent consisting of any number of temporal and/or modal features.

Also commenting on Steele *et al.*'s definition of AUX as a Category, Wekker (1985:472) states categorically that "Aux is claimed to mark tense and modality, but not aspect". By this he means that the presence of aspect is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for the establishment of a category Aux in a language.

In his own contribution to the debate on the universality of AUX, Rigter (1986:358-359) quotes Reuland (1983) as asking "whether AUX should S-contain or P-contain a 'tense-marker'. If AUX S-contains tense, every realization of AUX contains a 'tense-marker'. If it P-contains tense, a 'tense-marker' is only one of the alternative realizations of AUX From personal communication by Steele, it appears that S-contain was intended".

The conclusion one can draw from the foregoing discussion is that if Yoruba is a tenseless language, as Oyelaran claims, a category Aux cannot be convincingly established for the language.

Even if a category Aux is allowed in the language despite a clear absence of tense among its constituents, the Phrase Structure Rules proposed for the Yoruba Predicate by Oyelaran (as shown in (13)) are unsatisfactory.

- (13) (a) PRED ---> AUX PP VP
(b) VP ---> V NP PP VP

From (13), it is clear that AUX is a category in the structures proposed. One crucial point that should be noted here is that Oyelaran's grammar, at least as far as the analysis of Aux is concerned, is monostratal. The important points in (13) are noted in (14).

- (14) (i) Category Aux occurs between the NP and the preverbal PP.
(ii) To make sure that the preverbal PP is always PP[ti], it is stated that the PP should occur in the Predicate

Note (15) (i)-(iii). Although the Auxiliary elements occur after the PP, the PP belongs to the NP.

- (15) (i) Baba ní ilé ni ò ń bá wí
father at home is you are referring to
"It is to father at home that you are referring"
(ii) Ìwé rẹ sí mi kò tètè dé
letter is to me did not early arrive
"His letter to me did not arrive in time"

- (iii) Ènìkan ní Britein ní fún wa ní eroplein
 "Someone in Britain is giving us an aeroplane"
 (Afolayan 1968:470-473)**.

The problem is that there are sentences which Oyelaran's rules do not account for. For instance, there are many grammatical sentences in which the verbs do occur before the PP[ti] in the Predicate. Examples are:

- (16) (a) Mo fẹ́ ẹ́ ti ilé ẹ́
 I want INF from house do it
 "I want to do it from home"
- (b) Mo lọ ti ilé ẹ́
 I go from house to do it
 "I went to do it from home"

In (16) (a) and (b) the verbs fẹ́ "want" and lọ "go" occur before the PP[ti]. Oyelaran's comment on this (personal communication) is that both sentences contain the "final construction marker". This final construction marker is what Oyelaran, quoting Bamgbose and others, refers to as the infinitive construction. Stated explicitly, according to him, the expression should take the form VP[NMLPRED] which means a verb taking a nominalized Predicate as complement. Thus, (16) (a) and (b) are the same as (17) (a) and (b):

- (17) (a) Mo fẹ́ í ti ilé ẹ́
 I want INF from home do it
 "I want to do it from home"
- (b) Mo lọ í ti ilé ẹ́
 I go INF from home do it
 "I went to do it from home"

ti ilé ẹ́ (from home do it) "do it from home" in the two sentences is then taken to be a token of the Predicate. In (17) (a), a retrogressive assimilation takes place and "í" changes to "ẹ́". As for (16) (b) and (17) (b), Oyelaran concludes that lọ "go" is one of the verbs in the language in which the "final

construction marker" is neutralized. He gives the following examples to show that all markers of case and other syntactic categories are optionally realized after lọ "go":

- (18) (a) Mo lọ sí ilé
(I go to home)
- (b) Mo lọ ọ lẹ
(I go () home)
- (c) Mo lọ ilé
(I go home)
- (d) Mo lọ lẹ
(I go home)
"I went home"
(the translations in brackets are ours)

While the "case" is marked in (18) (a) and the final construction in (18) (b); in (18) (c) and (d) lọ "go" has no marker.

Our objections to the claims made above have already been noted by Awoyale (1983)**. What Oyelaran regards as the final construction and the VP_[NMLPRED] are regarded as the infinitive and the gerundive respectively by Awoyale. Awoyale's argument can be summarized as follows:

- The infinitive "iCV", as in the words in capitals in mo fẹ́ ẹ́ LỌ "I want to go", is not the remaining part of the gerundive "CíCV" structure also capitalized in *mo fẹ́ LÍLỌ "I want going". Any analysis that supports the claim that an ungrammatical sentence as in the latter, becomes grammatical as in the former, as a result of phonological deletion is unsatisfactory
- The initial high tone /í/ in the infinitive is not a prefix because a high tone does not occur on a vowel-initial word in Yoruba.
- The infinitive occurs in serial verb construction as in Ọ fẹ́ ẹ́ lọ gbé Olú "He wants to go and carry Olu", the gerundive does not, hence, the ungrammaticality of *Ọ fẹ́ lílọ gbé Olú "He wants the carrying of Olu".

We agree with Awoyale that the PP in both (16) (a) and (b) occur after the verbs, the reason being that despite the presence of the Infinitive marker, the verb fẹ́ "want" in (16) (a) does not lose its verbal nature and lọ "go" in (16) (b) is a verb occurring in a serial verb construction just as fò "jump" is functioning in (19):

- (19) Mo fò ti òkè bọ́ sí ilẹ̀
 I jump from up land to the floor
 "I jumped down from the top"

We also note that the preposition in the examples in (18) is one of the case markers in the language. As a case marker, its semantic role is null. Thus, sí ilẹ́ "to house" contributes to the determination of meaning in (18) (a) in exactly the same way as ilẹ́ "house" contributes in (18) (c). An item which has got a great deal in common with sí is the English to as used in (20).

- (20) My true love gave a partridge
 in a pear tree to me
- (21) My true love gave me a partridge
 in a pear tree

Of (20) and (21), Gazdar and Pullum (1982:14) claim that "to" is "present in" (20) "by virtue of the type of construction involved rather than by virtue of (its) intrinsic lexical property ... (its) function is to mark case". In transformational terms, Lyons (1966:218) is of the opinion that "case (in the languages in which this category is to be found) is not present in 'deep' structure at all, but is merely the inflectional 'realization' of particular syntactic relationships" (his brackets).

The preposition in (18) (a) is also one of the elements of which Abimbola and Oyelaran (1975:39, fn.)** state earlier that

"... they are grammatical formatives because not only do they not have independent meaning, they also belong to a closed system in a non-trivial sense. formatives performing similar functions like theirs may not normally be derived from any other formatives. And when they occur in utterances they either relate lexical items one to another or express an aspect of a lexical item belonging to a major category".

(18) (b) can be treated as resulting from the elision of the "s" and the subsequent assimilation of the "í" of the preposition sí "to". Examples of such elision and assimilation with elements other than lọ "go" are (22) (a) and (b):

(22) (a) Eṣu bọ ọ dīí ìlù > Èṣù bọ sí ìdí ìlù
 Esu (Subj. marker) falls
 to (the) base drum
 Esu (Yoruba so-called trickster
 god) set to the drum"

(b) Wọ́n dà á ó dī > Wọ́n dà á sí òdī
 they pour it to opposite
 "They turned it into
 misunderstanding"
 (Adapted with some modification
 from Abimbola and Oyelaran
 (1975:4))**

In (22) (a), the consonant of sí "to" is elided and the stranded vowel "í" is assimilated to the preceding vowel. In (22) (b), the consonant of sí "to" is also elided but instead of a retrogressive assimilation of the stranded vowel, what we have is a progressive assimilation into the following vowel.

Even if we agree that the structure of the predicates of sentences (16) (a) and (b) is VP_[NMLPRED] and that the sentences can easily be accounted for within Oyelaran's PS Rules in (13), sentences such as (23) (a)-(f) pose another problem.

(23) (a) Mo ti ilé ń sọ òkò ọ̀rọ̀ sí i
 I from house () throw stone word at him
 "From home, I was sending unpleasant notes
 to him"

- (b) Ớ mú ti oko bộ
He take from farm come
"He brought (something) from the farm"
- (c) Ớ ń ti ilé lọ ń sòrò sí i
He from house go () talk to him
"He (always) goes from home to talk to him"
- (d) Ớ ké ti oko wá
He cry from farm come
"He returned from the farm crying"
- (e) Ớ ti ilé lọ mǎa ń mú un
He from house go continue () take it
"He often goes from home to take it"
- (f) Ớ gbọ́n ti ilé wá
He wise from house come
"He has got good home training"

An element of the Category Aux occurs after the PP in (23) (a) but occurs after the verb in (23) (c). Also in (23) (d), ké "cry" is a verb occurring before the PP. In (23) (e), mǎa and ń, both belonging to the established Category Aux, follow the PP. Finally in (23) (f), gbọ́n "to be wise", a verb, precedes the PP.

With these examples, there is a clear justification for suggesting that the only member of the established Category Aux that is fixed in the second position in a S is the HTS, but according to Thrane (1983:158), a Language Specific Category cannot be established on the basis of only one element – a view that we share.

What all this shows is not that one cannot account for the auxiliary verbs in Yoruba but that one cannot do so by establishing a separate category for such verbs. The only criterion used by Oyelaran for the distinction of the auxiliary as a category from the verb is that of the PP occurring after it and before the

verb. As we have shown above, this is quite unsatisfactory. As the grammar within which the auxiliary as a category is treated is monostratal, the PS Rules in (13) cannot adequately account for cases:

- (24) (i) Where the Verb occurs before the PP[ti] form as in (23) (b), (d) and (f).
- (ii) Where the Auxiliary occurs after the PP[ti] form as in (23) (a) and (e).
- (iii) Where both the Auxiliary and the Verb occur after the PP as in (23) (c).

Problems of these types have led Pullum (1981:437) to give the following examples:

- (25) (a) This is of course certainly causing problems
- (b) This of course is certainly causing problems
- (c) This of course certainly is causing problems

and concludes that "the finite auxiliary verb in English simply is not rigidly fixed in initial, second or final position in S like the Aux elements Steele identifies in various other languages". From (23), we conclude that Oyelaran's Auxiliary elements also do not occur in a rigidly fixed position.

2.4.2. Comments on Oyelaran (1982b)

For a comprehensive conclusive argument against Category Aux as a syntactic category in Yoruba, we still need to discuss another paper written by Oyelaran in which an attempt is made to corroborate the conclusion reached in the paper we have just examined.

While presenting arguments to show that the VP should be allowed to take a VP as complement, Oyelaran (1982b:35) applies the principle of substitution. The examples given are as follow:

universal category AUX.

(27) (i) AUXILIARY ELEMENTS

- (a) Wọn ti gbà mí láyè látí máa kó o *máa pọ ...
 They AUXL accept me space in at AUXL collect
 it *AUXL together
 (see (26) (a) for the translation)

- (b) Wọn máa gbà mí láyè látí máa lọ
 They AUXL accept me space for AUXL go
 "They will allow me to continue to go"

(ii) VERBS

- (a) Wọn sáré gbà mí láyè látí sáre kó o *sáré pọ ..
 They run have accept me space run collect it *run
 together
 (see (26) (a) for the translation)

- (b) Wọn wá gbà mí láyè látí wá lọ
 They come accept me space for come go
 "They allow me to start going (there)"

In the above sentences, both auxiliaries and verbs are inserted in the same positions and they both make the resulting sentences either ill-formed or grammatical in the same way. Other examples given by Oyelaran (1982b:37) are treated in the same manner in (28), (29), (30) and (31). AUXL is placed under the inserted Aux elements that make the resulting sentences ungrammatical and both the inserted auxiliaries and verbs are underlined.

- (28) (i) (a) Mo ti wá ọré mi lọ sí N.Y.
 (b) *Mo ti wá ọré ti lọ sí N.Y.
 AUXL
 (c) *Mo wá ọré mi ti lọ sí N.Y.
 AUXL

"I have gone to N.Y. to look for my friend"

- (ii) (a) n kò wá ọ̀rẹ́ mi lọ sí N.Y.
 (b) *n kò wá ọ̀rẹ́ mi kò lọ sí N.Y.

AUXL

- (c) *mo wá ọ̀rẹ́ mi kò lọ sí N.Y.

AUXL

"I did not go to N.Y. to look for my friend"

- (iii) (a) Mo lè wá ọ̀rẹ́ mi lọ sí N.Y.
 (b) *Mo lè wá ọ̀rẹ́ mi lè lọ sí N.Y.

AUXL

- (c) *Mo wá ọ̀rẹ́ mi lè lọ sí N.Y.

AUXL

"I can go to N.Y. to look for my friend"

- (29) (i) (a) Ọ́ ti mu omi yó
 (b) *Ọ́ ti mu omi ti yó

AUXL

- (c) *Ọ́ mu omi ti yó

AUXL

"He has drunk water to satiation" or

"He is drunk on water"

- (ii) (a) Kò mu omi yó
 (b) *Kò mu omi kò yó

AUXL

- (c) *Ọ́ mu omi kò yó

AUXL

"He is not drunk on water"

- (iii) (a) Ọ́ lè mu omi yó
 (b) *Ọ́ lè mu omi lè yó

AUXL

- (c) *Ọ́ mu omi lè yó

AUXL

"He can be drunk on water"

- (30) (i) (a) Mo sáré wá ọ̀rẹ́ mi lọ sí N.Y.
 (b) *Mo sáré wá ọ̀rẹ́ mi sáré lọ sí N.Y.
 (c) *Mo wá ọ̀rẹ́ mi sáré lọ sí N.Y.

"I quickly went to look for my friend in N.Y."

- (ii) (a) Mo jí wá ọ̀rẹ́ mi lọ sí N.Y.
 (b) *Mo jí wá ọ̀rẹ́ mi jí lọ sí N.Y.
 (c) *Mo wá ọ̀rẹ́ mi jí lọ sí N.Y.

"I went early to look for my friend in N.Y."

- (iii) (a) Mo rán^hse wá ò^hré mi ló sí N.Y.
 (b) *Mo rán^hse wá ò^hré mi rán^hse ló sí N.Y.
 (c) *Mo wá ò^hré mi rán^hse ló sí N.Y.
 "I send someone to help look for my friend in N.Y."

- (31) (i) (a) Ó jí mu omi yó
 (b) *Ó jí mu omi jí yó
 (c) *Ó mu omi jí yó
 "He got drunk on water early (in the morning)"

- (ii) (a) Mo sá^hré mu omi yó
 (b) *Mo sá^hré mu omi sá^hré yó
 (c) *Mo mu omi sá^hré yó
 "I quickly drank water to satiation"

- (iii) (a) Mo ló mu omi yó
 (b) *Mo ló mu omi ló yó
 (c) *Mo mu omi ló yó
 "I went to get drunk"

The claim made in the paper is that the insertion of the second auxiliary elements make (b) and (c) in (28) (i), (ii), (iii) and (29) (i), (ii), (iii) ill-formed. In (30) and (31), we place the verb types in exactly the same slots and, as shown above, they all lead to ungrammatical constructions. Hence, we conclude that the examples given do not help in any way to distinguish verbs from auxiliaries.

In sum, as Oyelaran does not point out any other dissimilarities between verbs and the elements of Category Aux and as the obligatory element of Category Aux as defined by Chomsky, Akmajian *et al.* and Steele *et al.* is not included in his own category, we hope that the discussions in the last few paragraphs have shown that the account of a grammar which treats the auxiliary as a subclass of verb will be more in line with the facts of the language.

2.5. Counting the Auxiliary

So far, what we have been discussing is the Language-Specific Syntactic aspects of Oyelaran's criteria for Aux-hood. Now, turning to the notion of auxiliary verb as given by its advocates, we see that Oyelaran's HTS, NEG, M and ASP qualify as auxiliary verbs. There is no justification, however, for the inclusion of Oyelaran's Intensifier and Specifier. Oyelaran (1982a:17) is aware of this fact too when he states that:

Given that kúkú and sèsè have different restrictions, ... we suggest that they belong to different sub-categorization of the AUX. Let us call this INTENSIFIER (INT) for kúkú and SPECIFIER (SPEC) for sèsè. Of particular interest in distinguishing these two is the observation that SPEC is verb-like in that it subcategorizes for NP subject, while such sub-categorization is non-relevant for INT

Later, he states that:

More than any other label, INTENSIFIER is used for want of a better term. For one thing, we are not at all sure that their function is to "intensify". In what sense does bá, sáà, kàn, intensify for that instance? (p. 46 fn.6)

The question then is, if these items (Oyelaran's intensifiers and specifiers and Oke's intensifier auxiliary) are not elements of the auxiliary verb and as Oyelaran has said, some of them are not intensifiers, what are they?

2.6. The Modifying Verbs

Awobuluyi (1973:109)** argues that the elements under discussion are neither auxiliaries nor verbs but that they are adverbs functioning as verb modifiers. In analysing these items as adverbs, Awobuluyi overlooks one of their principal characteristics namely that as Oyelaran (1976:19) rightly noted, they should be analysed "in relation to the verbs with which they must cooccur". It is even still controversial whether adjectives can easily be distinguished from Yoruba

adverbs hence, the modifier/qualifier in (32):

- (32) Ó ka ìwé dádáá
 He read book well
 (a) "He reads books well"
 (b) "He reads good books"

may be referring to the manner in which the book is read, (32) (a) being the appropriate gloss, or it may be the books that are being qualified, (32) (b) being the required gloss. The items under consideration i.e. Oyelaran's INTENSIFIER and SPECIFIER and Oke's Intensifier Auxiliaries, unlike the adverb in (32), have no affinity to adjectives.

Still on the same items, Bamgbose (1974:42-47)** also argues that they should be analysed as modifying verbs. The differences between these items and the indisputable verbs often quoted, according to him, are:

They always occur in a modifying capacity to another verb.

- (33) Tètè lq
 early go
 "Go early"

They can occur in minimal sentences only in restricted context as in.

- (34) Ẹ tètè
 You(pl.) early
 "Be early"

(34) still requires a verb to make a complete expression as in:

- (35) Ẹ tètè lq
 You(pl.) early go
 "Go early"

(36) is not acceptable in a restricted context as in (34).

- (36) * F kúkú
You(pl.) even

On these examples, Bamgbose asserts that if these differences are important for verb identification, non-controversial verbs would not occur in such contexts, yet examples of indisputable verbs occurring in the same contexts abound in the language. Some of the examples he gives to support his point are:

- (37) (a) Ó fi owó sí ɛnu
He put money to mouth
"He puts a coin in his mouth"

- (b) * Ó fi owó
He put coin

- (38) (a) Aşọ náà bẹ yòò
dress the red bright
"The dress is bright red"

- (b) *aşọ náà bẹ
The dress is red

On the ungrammatical sentences in (37) and (38), Bamgbose states that the verb fi "put" in (37) (b) requires the post-verbal item sí "into", hence, it cannot occur in a minimal sentence in any context. Also, the fact that bẹ "be red" in (38) (b) requires an adverb accounts for the unacceptable minimal sentence. He then concludes that there is nothing wrong with a verb having the feature [+MOD] which is what he proposes for these items.

We agree with Bamgbose that Oyelaran's INTENSIFIER and SPECIFIER Auxiliaries and Oke's Intensifier Auxiliaries should be regarded as modifying verbs (V[+MOD]) because like all verbs, they can select their objects and subjects and occur in infinitive verb constructions. The major difference between them and

the main verb is that they always carry an additional feature [+MOD] which is not a necessary feature of the main verb.

In addition, if Oyelaran's (1976) persuasive analysis of adverbs is taken, then, there is no way the modifying verbs could be classified as adverbs. Oyelaran states that adverbs, always occur postverbally but as shown in (39), modifying verbs occur before the verbs they modify.

- (39) (a) Ó ka ìwé dádáá
 He read book good/well
 (i) "He reads well"
 (ii) "He reads good book"
- (b) Ó tètè ka ìwé
 He early read book
 "He reads early"

Both dádáá "well/good" and tètè "early" modify ka ìwé "read book" in different ways. The affinity between the adverb dádáá "well/good" with the verb can be broken as the glosses in (39) (a) (i) and (ii) show and already as pointed out in (32), but that of the modifying verb cannot be broken; hence, the single gloss. In (39) too, the adverb dádáá "good/well", in contradistinction to the modifying verb, occurs postverbally while the latter occurs in a preverbal position.

It should also be noted that the effect of both modal and aspect on these items is quite different from their effect on the adverb. Whereas both modal (i.e. lè "can/may") and aspect (i.e. máa í "Habitual aspect marker") affect either the modifying verbs or the verbs the modifying verbs modify, both modal and aspect affect the verb and not the adverb that modifies it.

- (40) (a) Ó máa í tètè lẹ
 He often early go
 "He often goes early"

- (b) Ó lè tètè lọ
He may early go
"He may go early"
- (c) Ó ti lọ rí
"He has gone before"
- (d) Ó lè lọ rí
He may go before
"He may have gone before"

It is very difficult, in English translation, to show the effects the modal and aspect have on the verb and the modifying verb in (40) (a)–(d). The word for word glosses show how the examples are understood by the speakers of the language but these are not depicted in the literary translation.

2.7. How many Auxiliary Verbs in Yoruba?

So far, we have been able to establish that Oyelaran's INTENSIFIER and SPECIFIER are lexical verbs used to modify other verbs. We have also argued that the auxiliary should be regarded as a subcategory of verb in the language.

Having pointed out all these, we still need to address ourselves to the question of the number of the Auxiliary verbs in the language. An answer to this has actually been given in our discussion above. What can truly be regarded as the Auxiliary Verbs in the language are some of Oke's Pre-emptive and Modal Auxiliaries and Oyelaran's HTS, NEG, M and ASP.

Previous writers do implicitly recognize that these items are the only Auxiliary Verbs in the language, but the problem is that they cannot adequately account for them in the framework of the grammars within which they work. For instance, in Oke's treatment of the Auxiliary Cluster, only the Pre-emptive and the Modal Auxiliaries are treated at any length. The Intensifier is included, mainly to serve, along with the Modal and the Pre-emptive, as some sort of

diagnostic context for his FULL VERB. He does not devote as much space to it, at least to the semantic treatment, as he does to the Modal and the Pre-emptive Auxiliaries.

This also applies to Oyelaran. Without the inclusion of both the INTENSIFIER and the SPECIFIER, the delimitation of Category Aux with PP would not have been easy. It will be recalled that his establishment of Category Aux in the language is based mainly on the occurrence of the PP between the AUX and the Verb in the Predicate. This would have been impossible if the elements considered do not include both the INTENSIFIER and the SPECIFIER. Even with these two constituents included, we have been able to show in this chapter that a Category Aux cannot be convincingly established in the language.

Awobuluyi (1967:253-258)** also recognizes our Auxiliary Verb as a subclass on its own. What surprises one is that he regards them as a subclass of Adverb. Consider the following passage:

The Preverbs constitute four classes of co-occurring elements. The first and second comprise respectively the indefinite tense markers máa, yóò, óò, and á on the one hand, and aspect markers tí, M, and maa on the other, both classes of elements participating in the chronological system of the verbs. The third class consists of the modal preverbs ìbá, ìbáà, lè and gbúùdò/gbóòdò, while the fourth and the last class made up of all the remaining manner preverbs. Only the first three are, in our opinion, of sufficient interest to warrant special treatment. (Awobuluyi 1967:257-258)**.

The classes that "warrant special treatment" are almost identical with our own Auxiliary Verbs. The differences are the non-inclusion of the NEG and the HTS, the latter of which he later recognizes as a tense marker (Awobuluyi 1975:229)**. He also includes bá and ìbáà, the equivalent of the English "if" and "even if" respectively which are not generally included within the sphere of modality and differ syntactically from the other auxiliary verbs.

Finally, though Bamgbose (1972:51)** characterizes the items under discussion, except *n'*, NEG, and HTS, as Auxiliary Verbs, he does not treat them as a subclass on their own. Instead of doing this, he merges them together with other items and classifies them as PREVERBS.

2.8. The Yoruba Auxiliary Verbs

The following are the items recognized as the Auxiliary Verbs in this work:

- (41) (a) NEG
- (b) HTS
- (c) *yóò* "will" and its variants
- (d) *ti* "has" and its variant
- (e) *gbóḍḍò* "must"
- (f) *lè* "can"
- (g) *n'* "PROG" and its variant
- (h) *máa n'* "HAB" and its variant

We refrain from mentioning the functions of the elements listed in (41) because these are the topics for full discussion in the next three chapters.

One of the reasons why we think that the Auxiliary Verbs should be clearly specified and properly discussed is that despite the importance of the Auxiliary Verbs to any grammar (on this see Chomsky (1957:38)), many Yoruba writers are guilty of using the term "Auxiliary" as a sort of rag-bag into which to toss most verbal uses that do not seem to the author to be those of the standard main verb.

Another reason is that many of the works in which the auxiliary verbs are mentioned focus on items other than those in (41).

2.9. Conclusion

What we have done in the previous sections is to argue against the establishment of Category Aux in Yoruba using Steele *et al's* (1981) criteria of AUX-hood which such a category should satisfy for its justification. We also

criticize Oke and Oyelaran, the former, for excluding some items which are elements of the Auxiliary and for including others which are not, and the latter, for including items which are not elements of the Auxiliary.

Our argument here supports the one earlier made by Thrane (1983:196) who states that AUX is not a universal category i.e. that it is not a "necessary, predicate-bound linguistic property, rather, it is a merely possible, significant, language-bound linguistic property".

Following the Auxiliary-as-verb hypothesis, we suggest that the items identified in (41) should be classified as a subclass of verb for the reasons we have discussed in this chapter to which the following could be added:

- There are no rules that refer specifically to the Auxiliary as there are in such languages as English where we have rules such as the Subject Auxiliary Inversion (often called Subject Verb Inversion).
- Unlike many categories in the language, no subcategories of verb – main, auxiliary, modifying ... – can be conjoined. Hence, we cannot have (42) (a) whereas, we can have (42) (b).

(42) (a) (i) *Lọ àti bọ
Go and come (base verb)

(ii) *Tètè àti kúkú
Early and simply (modifying verb)

(iii) yóò àti mǎa
*will and continue (auxiliary verb)

(b) (i) Dúdú àti pupa
black and red (nouns)

(ii) ní ilé àti ní oko
in house and in farm
"At home and on the farm" (PP)³.

- There are also some morphological phenomena that advocate an analysis of the Auxiliary as verbs. For example, the morphology of both are the same, none of them take inflection and they are all realized as lexical items especially if the lexical realization of the HTS is compared to that of the third person pronominal object which we shall touch upon in Chapter 3.

(43) (a) Olú ú lọ
 Olu HTS go
 "Olu went"

(b) Mo rí i
 I see it/her/him
 "I saw it/her/him"

It will be recalled from our previous discussions that there are no features of the Auxiliary Verbs in the language which are not shared by some indisputable verbs. As this is the case, we think that a treatment which permits a generalization of all verbs should be preferred in the language. The fact that the Auxiliary Verbs are highly grammaticalized⁴ does not mean that they should be regarded as items "which are used as substitute for inflections" (Poutsman (1926:15-17)). There are no inflections in the language and there is no point in saying that the Auxiliary Verbs are substituting for some. The analysis of the Yoruba Auxiliary Verbs as Verbs is adequately captured by Safarewicz (1974:20) when he states that

If within the scope of a certain class of words that do not exhibit any explicit opposition as to their morphological structure, some function is characteristic of all these words while another function is characteristic of some of them only, then the function characteristic of all the words is their primary function

It is in this light that we say that all verbs - may they be modifying, auxiliary, causative ... - should first be classified into their primary category - verb. It is after this that subsequent subclassification into functional classes which are peculiar to some of them could be made.

From the foregoing, it seems there is sufficient motivation both for classifying all Auxiliary Verbs in the language as Verb and for classifying them as a distinct subclass of verbs just as the modifying verbs, the splitting verbs and a host of other subcategories of verbs in the language are classified. The shared properties of Auxiliaries and Main Verbs are accounted for on the basis of the shared feature specification [+/-VERB], while the distinctive properties are accounted for on the basis of different specification for the feature [+/-AUXILIARY]. Thus Auxiliaries are [+VERB,+AUXILIARY] and Main Verbs are [+VERB,-AUXILIARY]. As there are no Auxiliaries that lack verbal properties in the language, no lexical item will be specified [-VERB,+AUXILIARY] and all the Auxiliaries will be allowed to take VP as complement just as most verbs do⁵.

2.10. Summary of Subsequent Chapters

Having established what could be regarded as the most basic assumption in any auxiliary verb description, what remains is the discussion of the functions of these items. This is what we shall now take up. In Chapter 3, we will discuss how the notions of aspects and phase are realized by some of the auxiliary verbs in (41). Chapter 4 will be devoted to the modal verbs and Chapter 5 will be concerned with some aspects of negation in the language. These three chapters will be basically descriptive.

It will be recalled from our discussion in this chapter that most of the problems relating to the categorial identity of the auxiliary verbs stem from the fact that a verbal construction in which the auxiliary verb serves as head is not clearly distinguished from one in which the modifying verb occurs as the first verb of the VP. Because of this confusion, after establishing the categorial status and the functions of the Yoruba auxiliary verbs, we shall still need to present some explicitly formulated rules that could account for, not only this

class of verbs, but other classes of verbs that are often confused with it. This is the task we shall take up in Chapter 6.

To present the rules that could account for the structure of the auxiliary verbs, we need a grammatical apparatus. Our choice of grammar is the Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar (GPSG henceforth). GPSG is of interest because there is no work on Yoruba in this framework so that part of the analysis to be presented could be regarded as a new ground for the theory. So, in Chapter 6, we shall present some structural analyses to show, not only what the auxiliary verbs have in common with the modifying verbs, but also how they differ. We shall also compare the latter with some other verbal constructions in the language. In Chapter 7, we shall suggest some basic restrictions on the appearance of the auxiliary verbs. The concluding chapter will discuss some of the achievements of the work.

Notes and References to Chapter 2

1. "AUX" in capital, as used by Steele *et al.*, is the name of the Universal Category, while "Aux" is the name of the language-specific instantiations of AUX.
2. Oke does not state in his paper that there is a category Aux in the language. Although he distinguishes the auxiliary from the verb, he still refers to the class established as a subclass of verb. Our discussion is based on Oyelaran's (1982a:1) comments that "Oke presented perhaps the first systematic attempt to subsume under a single Category Auxiliary all the grammatical formatives which earlier studies (including Awobuluyi 1967) have suggested may occur in combination of varying lengths between the subject and the main verb of Yoruba Sentence".
3. See Fagborun's (1985) discussion on some writers attempt at conjoining two or more Verb Phrases or Clauses in the language.
4. Even in languages where the lexical and the grammatical items differ morphologically, the claim made by Lyons (1968:438) is that "there seems to be no difference between the 'kind of meaning' associated with lexical items and the 'kind of meaning' associated with grammatical items". This is not to say that there are no 'purely grammatical' items in Yoruba. Case is a typical example, as our brief discussion on it has shown, whose markers are 'purely grammatical' elements in the language and our suggestion is that they should be introduced syncategorematically.
5. Thrane's (1983:158) definition of a category is also based on distribution. According to him, a category is "a class of descriptive significant items established by distribution at a given level of analysis".

CHAPTER 3

ASPECT AND PHASE SYSTEMS IN YORUBA

3.1. Introduction

Our discussion of Aspect and Phase Systems (APS henceforth) begins with a review of the works of Awobuluyi (1975b)** and Oyelaran (1982a). Though this topic has been commented upon in one form or the other by some grammarians, notably by Rowlands (1954:384-385)**, Bamgbose (1966:33-34)** and Fresco (1970:65)**, the usefulness of the works of both Awobuluyi (1975b)** and Oyelaran (1982a) lies in their critical approach. While the former is concerned mainly with the functions of the High Tone Syllable (HTS henceforth), the latter argues for the recognition of Yoruba as a tenseless language. Both analysts review previous works on their topics extensively and arrive at the following conclusions:

AWOBULUYI (1975b)**¹

- (i) The HTS is a preverbal adverb which indicates the non-future tense.
- (ii) It is morphologically /í/ in most contexts, and /Ǿ/ in a few contexts where it is semantically present but physically absent.
- (iii) It does not occur in timeless sentences.

OYELARAN (1982a)

- (i) The HTS is a definitizer².
- (ii) Yóò "will" is an aspectual and modal marker.

3.2. The High Tone Syllable Revisited

As both Awobuluyi and Oyelaran touch upon the HTS, we shall begin our discussion with this item. Though both writers' attempt at elucidating the functions and forms of the HTS are undoubtedly the most ingenious in the literature, their works are open to criticism. Oyelaran's critical review of Awobuluyi's work goes a long way in subverting the HTS-as-a tense-marker analysis put forward by him. To provide further evidence for Oyelaran's claim, we start by examining a point raised by Awobuluyi which Oyelaran does not comment upon. Other issues that are raised in the same work are addressed later in this essay.

3.2.1. Explaining the Timeless Sentences

While discussing the functions of the HTS, Awobuluyi states that the HTS 'does not occur at all (technically: it does not even have a zero variant) in timeless sentences' (Awobuluyi (1978:72)**). One of the examples cited is (1) (A).

- (1) (A) Èwòn já ní 'bi ọ wù ú
 (Chain break in place which-it please it)
 "The chain breaks just wherever it pleases"

He then concludes that in a situation where we have neither the HTS nor the so-called future marker yóò "will", such a sentence is a timeless sentence.

This proposal, attractive though it might seem, is very difficult to defend. For, if the claim made in the proposal is valid, why do we then have timeless sentences in the language that contain, not only the HTS or the so-called future tense marker, but also the phase marker tí "has" and the progressive marker ń "ing"? as in:

(1) (B) (a) HTS IN TIMELESS SENTENCES

Ààyè é gba tápà, ó kólé ìgunnu
 (space HTS allow a Nupe, he build
 house (for) Iggunnu))
 "If you give some people an inch, they
 take a mile"

(b) PHASE MARKER IN TIMELESS SENTENCES

Tètè ẹ̀gún ti lómi tẹ́lẹ̀ kójò tó rọ sí i
 Spinach PH have water before COMP
 rain enough fall on it
 "The spinach was succulent even before
 rain fell"

(c) THE SO-CALLED FUTURE MARKER IN TIMELESS SENTENCES

Ẹni tí yóò joyin inú àpáta, kò ní i
 wenu àáké
 (Person that FUT eat honey inside rock,
 NEG look mouth axe)
 "If a P wants to drink the honey which is
 in the rock, he will pay no attention
 to what happens to his axe-blade/If
 you don't succeed the first time, try,
 try and try again" (Abraham 1958:190)**
 (bracket, ours)

(d) PROGRESSIVE IN TIMELESS SENTENCES

Ẹ ní retí ẹlẹ́ya, níbo lẹ fi tOlúwa sí ?
 (You PROG expect humiliated person,
 where FOC you leave that-of-the-Lord
 put)
 "You are waiting for others to be
 humiliated, what account have you taken
 of God's plan ?/The (plan) o mice and
 men gang (oft) agley" (Abraham 1958:187)**.
 (bracket, ours).

Examples could be multiplied. Even with these few examples, the incorrectness of Awobuluyi's claim becomes clear. We believe that the only way a timeless sentence could be explained in the language, using Reichenbach's (1966) notions of temporal specification (i.e.. Speech Time, Reference Time and Event

Time), is to regard it, following Papp (1982:97), 'as a sentence with (an) incomplete time specification'. Papp claims further that "'timeless proposition", statements ... made "for all time" (and) the so-called eternal truth, proverbs and proverbial statements' are sentences which have some of their times missing. The times which are neither specified nor indicated in such sentences are the Reference Time and the Event Time. With these two times left unspecified, it is not surprising that the 'actions referred to in them are never located in any particular time' (Awobuluyi 1978:130)**, hence, their reference time can be identical with any time including the speech time.

3.2.2. Yoruba Definitizer – A Critique

Having pointed out the weakness of the analysis of the timeless sentences put forth by Awobuluyi, we shall now turn to Oyelaran's work which, as far as we know, has not been commented on by any linguist. A critical look at these shows that Oyelaran's analysis of the HTS as a definitizer is as unsatisfactory as that he criticized.

To start with, Oyelaran does not give any reason why the HTS as a definitizer does not occur with yóò "the supposed Future marker" but occurs with its alternant máa, a point which he holds against Awobuluyi. Examples are:

- (2) Òjò yóò rọ
Rain will fall
"It will rain"
- (3) Òjò ọ máa rọ
Rain HTS will fall
"It will rain"

His claim, too, that yóò "will" 'shows the same constraints and cooccurrence possibilities as basic modals (e.g. lè "able to"; and gbọdọ "must")' (Oyelaran 1982a:32) does not include the HTS as shown by the following sentences:



- (4) Òjò ó lè rẹ
Rain HTS may fall
"It may rain"
- (5) Òjò ó gbọ́dọ̀ rẹ
Rain HTS must fall
"It must rain"

Finally, what is meant by the notion zero morpheme is not made explicit in Oyelaran's work. It is not clear whether by zero he means a situation where no formative appears as an exponent of a given morphosyntactic feature or a case where there are no morphosyntactic features requiring a formative as their exponent. The following examples will demonstrate this:

- (6) Ilé kékeré
House small
"A small house"
- (7) Ilé e Kékeré
House ASSOC Kekere (Small)
"Kekere's (Small's) house"
(Kekere "Small" also occurs as a personal name)
- (8) Ilé e Délé
House ASSOC Dele
"Dele's house"
- (9) Ilé Olú
House Olu
"Olu's house"

It will be noted that the major difference between (6) and (7) lies only in the presence or the absence of the associative marker whereas the absence of the same item in (9) compared with (8) does not result in any difference in meaning. It may be argued that the contrast in meaning between (6) and (7) lies in the different functions of kékeré "small" in the two sentences (see Awobuluyi 1975b:221)**. We are not disputing this claim here which, in fact,

supports our own argument. Rather, the difference in the functions of kékeré "small" in (6) and (7) requires that kékeré "small" takes an associative marker in (7) whereas in (6), the presence of the same marker is not required. This difference in function, as will have been noted, does not explain the reason why the same associative marker is present in (8) but not in (9). Following Zwicky (1985), we will account for the difference in meaning between (6) and (9) by positing a no morphosyntactic feature requiring a formative as its exponent analysis for (6) and a morphologically constrained rule of exponence analysis for (9).

In (6), the type of allomorphy rule that provides an exponent for the associative features in (7) is not available. The cases of (8) and (9) are different from this. While (8) could be introduced with an allomorphy (realization) rule 'assigning phonological realizations to some bundles of morphosyntactic features' (Zwicky 1985:433), in this case [+N, +ASS], (9) would be introduced by an allomorphy (referral) rule which refers 'the exponents of other bundles to ...' (ibid) the rule that introduces (8). These two rules 'are distinct from and precede all phonological rules of all types' but they are preceded 'by syntactic rules distributing morphosyntactic features' (Zwicky 1985:432). We need these rules in order to show that (8) and (9) are identical.

Zwicky (1985:431–432) states further that:

- (10) a given bundle of features can have several different formatives as its exponent in different contexts
- (11) a given formative can serve as the exponent of several different feature bundles in different contexts.
- (12) A formative serving as the exponent for some bundles of morphosyntactic features may be absent.

(10)–(12), which can be referred to as informal versions of Zwicky's rules of allomorphy, 'can be conditioned or constrained by phonological, morphological, or syntactic properties of their context' (ibid). In Yoruba, (10) can be exemplified by (2) and (3) above.

In (2) and (3), both yóò "will" and máa "will" are the exponents of the so-called tense feature, [+FUT]. Similarly, (13) exemplifies (11) and (14) exemplifies (12):

(13) (i) Olú ń máa lọ
Olu HTS will go
"Olu will go"

(ii) Olú ń máa máa lọ
Olu HTS will continue go
"Olu will continue to go"

(14) (i) Mo wọlé
I enter
"I enter/entered"

(ii) Olú ń wọlé
Olu HTS enter
"Olu enters/entered"

In (13) (i), máa "will" is the exponent of the so-called Future Tense but in (13) (ii), the same item serves first as the exponent of the so-called Future Tense while its second occurrence stands for the Progressive Aspect. In (14) (i), the HTS is not realized in the environment of the pronominal mo "I" as contrasted with Olú in (14) (ii).

From these examples, it is clear that the best way to solve the problem of the HTS is to postulate a contextually determined analysis for the non-realization of this syllable as suggested in (12) above.

On this basis, the non-realization environments of HTS could then be regarded

as the ones suggested earlier by Awobuluyi (1978:73-74)** which are before the verbs dà "where is?", ńkó "where is?", kò "not", í "unaccomplished action", and á "habitual action". It is not realized also after the pronominals mo "I", o "You", a "We" ẹ "You (pl.)". With the environments in which the HTS is not realized stated, the item can now be redefined as the high tone syllable which occurs and is assimilated to the final vowel of an NP in an S³. With this general definition, what is needed is an additional specification of the environments in which the HTS is not realized. To do this, we need a referral rule of the type suggested by Zwicky (1985). We consider such a rule below.

Having established what both zero and absent morpheme mean, especially as regards the HTS, our next task is to discuss the function of the syllable itself.

3.2.3. HTS as Perfective Marker

Following Comrie (1976:16)**, Perfective Aspect is taken as indicating 'a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation'. With this definition, we suggest that the HTS should be regarded as the element marking the Perfective Aspect in Yoruba. Oyelaran rejects this analysis on the ground that 'the perfective interpretation applies even in cases where, as in negation, HTS is zero' (Oyelaran 1982a:41). As we have shown above, the case of zero, as understood in Oyelaran's usage, is not relevant. Instead, we have a case of non-exponency for some given morphosyntactic features.

The example in (15), given by Oyelaran to clarify his claim, supports this point.

- (15) Jòǹnú ń kàwé nígbà ti mo wọlé
 "John was reading when I entered"

On (15), he claims that 'Yoruba has the Perfective Aspect and it is unmarked as

wọlé "entered" (Oyelaran 1982a:37-38). This claim is made on the assumption that no marker occurs in the environment of the said verb. But if the pronominal mo "I" as the subject of the embedded sentence is replaced by the nominal Olú, any representation that is different from (16) would be inappropriate.

- (16) Jòṣonu ún ń kàwé nígbà tí Olú ú wọlé
 (John HTS () read book in when that Olu
 HTS enter house)
 "John was reading when Olu entered"
 (The translation in brackets ours.
 Note the positions of the HTS)

This shows that the non-occurrence of the HTS in the environment of mo "I" is contextually determined.

In Dahl's (1984:13) view, the notion of boundedness is crucial to the semantics of perfectivity. So, to the modified question in (17), the answer in (18) is required:

- (17) Q What did your brother do after
 dinner yesterday ?.
 A My brother WRITE a letter
- (18) A Ègbón ọ̀n mi ín kọ̀wé
 Senior/junior brother ASSOC me HTS
 write letter/book.
 "My brother wrote a letter"

Here, the process of letter writing is internal to the "period the speaker is talking about" (Ducrot and Todorov 1981:307)⁴.

The analysis of the HTS as the perfective marker, as suggested above, provides further evidence to support Oyelaran's claim that Yoruba is a tenseless language. Of importance here is the fact that the analysis actually explains why the HTS can occur where tense does not normally occur. The HTS occurrence

here can be explained by the fact that aspect, as a 'temporal distribution or contour' (Hockett 1958:237) of an event, 'does not change with a change of tense' (Ridjanovic 1982:84), hence, 'it can be present in both finite and non-finite and even in the most neutral form of the verb, the infinitive' (Ridjanovic 1982:84).

Added to this is the fact, that unlike tense which could enter into both homonexual and heteronexual government with some adverbs and the principal nexus respectively, 'aspect has only homonexual government' (Rallides 1971:15). By homonexual is meant here that the grammatical effects of aspect 'are confined within the clause where it appears.... Heteronexual government, on the other hand, is the contrary. A past tense in a principal clause may require a past tense in a clause subordinate to it' (Rallides 1971:15). Hence, as far as the homonexual government of aspect is concerned, instead of (15), we could have (19) without the aspect in the clause in (15) or (19) having a specific effect on any of the other clauses in the same sentence.

- (19) Olú ú wọlé nígbà tí Òlā á ń kàwé
 Olu HTS enter house when that Ola HTS PROG read book
 "Olu entered when Ola was reading"

Apart from the points stated above, this analysis also clarifies further some of the points about the HTS discussed by Oyelaran and Awobuluyi.

It will be recalled that Oyelaran analyses the HTS as a definitizer. This analysis is not surprising if one views perfectivity diachronically. For, according to Thelin (1978:14), perfective meaning actually originates from the primitive +/-DEFINITE. But the incorrectness of this analysis lies in the fact that, synchronically, the +/-DEFINITE feature has since been displaced by +/-TOTAL feature. So, instead of assigning the definite meaning to the perfective, recent

writers now view it from the totality/boundedness point of view. This is the view shared by Comrie on whose definition of the perfective Oyelaran bases his establishment of the perfective aspect in the language. So, it appears that Oyelaran adopts the totality view of the perfective as defined by Comrie, yet also maintains a distinction between this and the feature from which it has developed.

We are not denying the fact that both the totality and the definite features might have been individually marked by the HTS at one stage during the development of the language; just as the English perfect, which is said to have developed from the possessive construction (Vermant 1983:1), still coexists with it and both are realized in the same form. Rather, we are saying that in the present study of Yoruba, definite, as a grammatical feature of the verb is no longer available in its grammar. The case of the definite feature in Yoruba is comparable to that of the “be”-perfect ...’ in English which has been ‘...lost entirely in standard English’ (Vermant 1983:2).

The problem with Awobuluyi’s analysis of the HTS, is different from that of Oyelaran. When presenting his analysis of the HTS, Awobuluyi divides the Yoruba verbs into two – the adjectivizable and the non-adjectivizable. When the HTS cooccurs with the adjectivizable verb, the action is realized either as past or present while its cooccurrence with the non-adjectivizable verb produces a past action.

This is not the place to go into the problems inherent in giving Yoruba verbs a binary classification of +/-adjectivizable. Rather, what we would like to point out, following Lyons (1977:678), is that ‘apart from the context of immediate report or commentary’ in which the term present could be used ‘without an accompanying adverb of time (to) locate a situation in the present’ there is no

way any verb in the language could be analysed as implying 'contemporaneity with the act of utterance'. Lyons (1977:678) even challenges the rationale behind the establishment of such a tense in any language. Asante's (1985:246-247)** comment on Yoruba supports this view. According to him, '... there is no distinction between past and present indefinite forms of the verbs among Yoruba speakers. ... For example, Ó kéré may be translated as "it is small" or "it was small" depending on the context'.

The reason for Awobuluyi's claims that the HTS is the marker of the same tense when it cooccurs with the adjectivizable verbs, despite such challenges, is apparent in the different classes into which the verbs are classified. A look at the so-called adjectivizable verbs and other verbs that behave like them, as listed in Awobuluyi (1967:181-182; 260)**, shows that they have a lot in common with the verbs often characterized as statives. According to Holisky (1978), some of the ways in which state verbs could be characterized are as follows (the examples of statives here are given with Awobuluyi's so-called adjectivizable verbs):

- (20) (i) Not normally on-going

*Olú ń ga lẹwọ báyìí
 Olu HTS PROG tall in hand now
 "Olu is in the process of being tall
 right now"

- (ii) Do not occur with instrumentals

*Olú ń fi ọpọlọ mọ ọn
 Olu cause brain know it
 "Olu is knowing it with the brain"

- (iii) They cannot be repeated and do not appear in repeated conjunction. As verbs are not conjoined in the language, the equivalences of these formations are the iterated expressions.

*Qba á ga ga ga
 Oba HTS tall tall tall
 "Oba was talling for a long time"

- (iv) Participants cannot be shared in a state

*Èmi àti Olú ú jọ gbọ́n ọgbọ́n mi
 I and Olu HTS together wise my wisdom
 "Olu and myself are both wise in me"

- (v) Statives do not occur in imperative

*ga "be-tall"

It seems as if it is the enduring and the persisting qualities of the stative verbs stated above and the fact that stative verbs 'are homogenous and unchanging throughout the period of their existence' (Lyons 1977:707) that Awobuluyi is referring to as present actions. Hence, he confuses the semantic interpretation of the so-called adjectivizable verbs with the tense distinction he is claiming to have identified in the language. In Thelin's (1978:59) terms, Awobuluyi 'has mixed up linguistic property of different levels ... semantico-syntactic instructions' and tense.

We also need to point out the incorrectness of the claim that the combination of the HTS and the non-adjectivizable verb produces a past action. While discussing the perfective aspect, Dahl (1984:5) notes what he regards as the tendency, among linguists, to characterize a perfective event as past action. In another work, (Dahl 1985:9)**, he states further that 'the category perfective will usually be interpreted as 'perfective' and 'past' although with the first feature clearly dominant'. Dalby (1984:24) supports this view by claiming that 'It

is not surprising if systems of aspect in various languages are analysed as tense systems, because the "normal" use of perfective aspect will presumably be to refer to events which have occurred in the past, because events going on at the time of speaking will not be completed'.

If, instead of regarding the HTS as a non-future marker, the item is regarded as the perfective marker as we have done, the problems encountered by previous analysts while explaining the characteristics of the HTS will be partially solved. For example, Awobuluyi's claim that the HTS combines with different verbs to produce different tenses could then be easily explained in terms of the analysis of aspect as presented by Smith (1986).

Smith (1986:100) makes a clear distinction between two classes of aspects. The first she refers to as situation aspect and the second, the viewpoint aspect⁵. Situation aspect, according to her, 'involves the linguistic forms and meanings associated, for a given language, with idealized situation'. The four basic situation aspects are: Activity (push a cart), Accomplishment (build a house), Achievement (reach the top) and State (love John). The viewpoint aspect, on the other hand, involves 'the forms and meanings associated with the perfective and the imperfective'. The viewpoint aspect, she states further, is dependent on situation aspect. For example, in English, 'the progressive viewpoint aspect is limited to certain types of situation aspect, and the simple (perfective) viewpoint varies in interpretation according to types of situation'.

With the above explanation, the reason why several classes of sentences with the perfective aspect have a different interpretation becomes clear. The scope of Aspect is the sentence. A state, for instance, differs from an event/activity in that while the notion of the latter includes its endpoint, that of the former does not. Hence, while the state talked about (or Awobuluyi's so-called

adjectivizable verb) in Olú ú ga "Olu is tall" can be taken as continuing into the present, the activity talked about (or Awobuluyi's so-called non-adjectivizable verb) in Olú ú jẹun "Olu ate" cannot. The reason for this discrepancy is due, as stated by Smith, to the fact that the central meaning of the perfective is realized differently for each situation type. Hence, 'if the situation type includes endpoints, they are included in the "simple" (our own perfective) viewpoint of that situation type If the situation type does not include endpoints, the situation in its entirety does not include them either' (Smith 1986:103-104).

If the above is accepted, then, following Zwicky (1985), the perfective realization on verb in Yoruba can be described by the informal allomorphy realization rule in (21).

- (21) [CAT:verb, ASP:perf] is realized as /HTS/

As shown above, the rule of exponence, such as the one presented in (21), cannot capture all the obvious generalizations about the perfective marker. To capture these, we need a rule of referral that describes a default identity mentioned earlier. Assuming we assign type A to the environments in which the perfective is realized as HTS and type B to the environments in which it has no exponent, the allomorphy and the referral rules that would describe the perfective form in Yoruba would, in an informal manner, be (22) (a) and (b).

- (22) (a) [CAT:verb, ASP:perf, TYPE:A] is realized by /HTS/
 (b) [CAT:verb, ASP:perf, TYPE:B] has the same realization as the otherwise identical bundle with the value /VERBFORM:bse/ in it.

3.2.4. Some Comments on Dahl (1985)

In Dahl (1985), Yoruba is one of the languages used to exemplify the cross-linguistic classification of the Tense and Aspect Systems (TAS henceforth). One of the "incidence categories" identified in the classification is the Perfective Aspect. With this category included in the said cross-linguistic classification, one would expect that Yoruba would be one of the languages in which this category is realized. But, surprisingly enough, no mention of the category is made in the TAS characterization presented for the language. The following are some of the possible reasons why Dahl fails to recognize the need for a perfective category in the language.

We start by pointing to the difference between the language in which the data are given and the language into which they are to be translated. The difference in the two languages could produce some errors which may not necessarily be the fault of the informants. For example, Yoruba does not mark tense and gender. Thus, a sentence such as Ó jẹun may variously mean "He eats or he ate", "It eats or it ate", "She eats or she ate". If, instead of using pronouns or proper names in the subject position, we use bare nominals, then the translation problems are compounded. Hence, Qkùnrin ín lè ṣiṣé ju obìnrin ló may, in varying contexts, be read as "All men can work more than all women", "some men can work more than some women", "The generic kind of man can work more than the generic kind of woman". Dahl (1985:49)** notes these types of translational problems too when he states that:

even a competent informant may of course fail to translate a sentence in the desired way ... in general, it may be suspected that translations are often rather unrepresentative of the translator's normal language ... The general impression ... was that the method of letting speakers translate foreign languages into their own was the least reliable of the methods tested

Dahl goes a step further in making a representative translation of the informants' normal language more difficult by instructing the informants that a translation of the English sentences which is "syntactically considerably more complex than the others" (Dahl 1985:49) should be omitted⁶. With this instruction, it seems that the Yoruba informants steer clear of all translations that may require extensive justification. While translating, they might inadvertently have introduced concepts which are foreign to the language.

Asante (1985:249-250)** notes this type of error and warns that in translating the Eboics sentence 'I done ate' into English, "something is lost in the translation". The translation given to the sentence is 'I have eaten' "which does carry the information about completed action, but also carries information about the relationship of the action in time" whereas the original sentence merely means "I complete the action of eating". In the sentence the "preverbal done specifies nothing in reference to time". He then concludes that:

As can be seen, while the standard English speaker must inflect all verbs for tense, the Eboics speaker does not feel the need to be redundant in expressing the manner or aspect of the action.

Salkie (1987:80) States further:

The verb [in Dahl's questionnaire] was put in its base form so that the English form should influence the translation as little as possible. I am dubious about the effectiveness of this; any informant who was taught English as second language (rather than growing up bilingual) will inevitably have spent a lot of time wrestling with the problems of the English TMA systems (ask any EFL teacher). With such informants, English is bound to interfere to a large extent in any case (the square bracket is ours).

We suspect that the Yoruba informants are affected by the type of problems noted by Asante and Salkie.

Second, the major concern of Dahl is to identify and compare the uses of overtly signalled morphological, periphrastic and derivational realizations of the grammatical categories (he calls these "incidence categories") across languages in terms of a universal framework. When analysing Yoruba, Dahl fails to identify any periphrastic expression which is identical to our own HTS in his data. The reason for this is not difficult to discern. Because of its characteristics, the HTS is, to borrow Welmers' (1964:1) words, best described as one of those "residue of verbal (items) which do not fit the predominant patterns". With this description, the non-inclusion of the HTS in the questionnaires received from the informants becomes less surprising. Our guess is that the informants are unaware of the importance of the HTS.

Oke (1969), in his analysis of the Yoruba verbs, objects to the use of texts in his analysis because he believes that most tone syllables are not often represented in writing. The approved Modern Orthography for the language does not help here because it states specifically that "Vowel lengthening between words should not be indicated" (Bamgbose 1976:8)**. This is arbitrary, as the same Orthography allows for the indication of both the third pronominal object and the so-called verbal particle as exemplified in (23) (a) and (b) respectively.

(23) (a) Mo rí i
 I see it
 "I saw it"

(b) (i) Ó sòroó se
 It hard PRT do
 "It is a difficult task"

- (ii) Kì í wá
 Neg PRT come
 "He is not always present"

The call for a non-indication of lengthened vowel made above goes a long way in limiting the use of lengthened syllables, not only for the HTS and the perfective marker to research works, but also for the junctural syllables that mark the infinitive and the associative. The fact that Dahl's informants' translations are not fleshed out in any detail, especially for the HTS as one would have done in a research work, could serve as another reason why Dahl does not recognize the item and its function.

Another point to be considered here is that Dahl, who is not a native speaker of the language, is also unable to lay his hand on any recorded text that could be used to cross-check the data submitted to him. Commenting on the corpus used by Dahl in his analysis, Miller (1987:229) states that

The major question that anyone will ask concerning Dahl's book is: how reliable is the information on individual languages, given the small numbers of informants for quite a number of the languages in the corpus, the necessarily brief treatment of each language, and the questionnaire approach.

In support of Miller, we note that one of the two informants on Yoruba is not a native speaker of the language and that few works on the language are available to the author himself. The only work cited which has any relevance to Yoruba is Welmers' (1973)**. In this work, Welmers (1973:383)** accepts the previous analysis of Rowlands (1954), in which the arguments for the HTS as a third person singular pronominal subject were presented. If Dahl recognizes the HTS, it seems as if its analysis as presented by Welmers is acceptable to him; hence, he fails to recognize the item as an exponent of an incident category. Rowland's approach to the description of the function of the HTS

has since been refuted by Awobuluyi (1975b)**.

In addition to these points, almost all the examples used by Dahl have pronominal subjects. As the HTS is morphologically constrained in this environment, it seems impossible for him, at least from the limited data available, to realize what is happening. Note the following examples:

- (24) (a) Mo gba ìsinmi
I get leave
"I am on holiday"
- (b) Ó rọ̀
It rain
"It rained"
- (c) Olú ń gba ìsinmi
Olu HTS get leave
"Olu is on holiday"
- (d) Ọ̀jò ń rọ̀
Rain HTS fall
"It rained"

In (24) (a) and (b), the HTS which occurs in the environments of the nominal subjects in (24) (c) and (d) is absent. The reason for its absence is that the morphosyntactic features that realize the perfective have no exponent in the environment of the pronominal subjects.

It is clear to us that the Modern Yoruba Orthography has had a far reaching effect on the data submitted to Dahl by his informants. As it may also have the same affect on future analyses of the language, we suggest that changes be introduced into the Orthography, especially as regards the lengthened vowels. We suggest that the HTS and the junctural syllables that mark the associative and the infinitive should be indicated, as shown in 25) (a), (b) and (c) respectively, whenever they perform some function in sentences and the

environment allows for their indication.

- (25) (a) òjò ɔ rò
Rain HTS fall
"It rained"
- (b) Ilé e Délé
House ASSOC Dele
"Dele's House"
- (c) Ó fẹ́ ẹ́ lọ
He want INF go
"He wants to go"

What is more, the HTS can easily be introduced into the Orthography with no discrepancies, for, the same Orthography, as mentioned earlier, specifies indication of lengthened vowels that realize the third person singular pronominal object and the so-called verbal particle. The principles that apply to these two should be extended to all junctural syllables.

3.2.5. The Perfective as an Unmarked Category

Having stated the function of the HTS, our next task is to account for the cooccurrence of the HTS, not only with the so-called tense markers, but also with the other aspect markers. We believe that the best way to account for these cooccurrences is to treat the perfective, which is marked by the HTS, as an unmarked member of the aspect subcategories. As such, the most "natural" explanation for perfective neutralization would be that whenever the perfective occurs with any other aspect category the perfectival distinction becomes void and only the functions of the other aspect category are put to work.

The notion of unmarked, as stated here, is slightly different from Oyelaran's use of the term, for two reasons. Firstly, Oyelaran does not recognize the HTS as the perfective marker as we do here. Secondly, we believe that the binary

plus/minus or the marked/unmarked model, based on the perfective/imperfective distinction, would not explain the behaviour of the perfective marker when it cooccurs with the other aspect subcategories. For one thing, the imperfective in the language is made up of more than a single subcategory. Hence, a binary distinction based on the contrast between the perfective and each member of the imperfective subcategory would be more appropriate to describe the relative markedness of the perfective subcategory in the language.

In this work, out of the ten notions of relative markedness summarized by Schwartz (1980:315–316), the following two are needed to capture the necessary generalizations about the Yoruba perfective.

- (a) SYNCRETIZATION: neutralizes the unmarked member of a category in the marked member.
- (b) DEGREE OF MORPHOLOGICAL VARIATION: in which more morphological alternation appears in the unmarked member of an opposition.

While (a) explains why the perfective is neutralized in the environment of the other member, (b) is responsible for the contextual variation of the same item as shown in (26).

- (26) (i) Ọla á kọ ìwé
Ola HTS write book/letter
"Ola wrote a letter"
- (ii) Mo kọ ìwé
I write book/letter
"I wrote a letter"
- (iii) Ọla a n kọ ìwé
Ola HTS PROG write book/letter
"Ola is writing a letter"

- (iv) Mo n kọ ìwé
 I PROG write book/letter
 "I am writing a letter"

The importance of indicating one's use of marked/unmarked features becomes clear when one looks at the current use of the term by some linguists. For example, Radford's (1981:29) use of the term unmarked as 'one which accords with general tendencies in language' and marked as 'one which goes against these general tendencies, and hence, "exceptional" in some way' would put the Yoruba perfective in the class of the marked phenomenon.

The treatment of the perfective as an unmarked member will even shed some light on some facts often noted during the period of language acquisition by Yoruba speaking children. Observations⁷ have shown that children acquire the use of other aspectual subcategories markers in the language after they have mastered the use of HTS. For example, in a situation where Ola mentioned in (26) has danced or was dancing, if the question "What is/was Ola doing?" is put to a child, the answer one would likely get is (27) (a), not (b).

- (27) (a) Qya (Qla) á jó
 Ola HTS dance
 "Ola danced"
- (b) Qya (Qla) á n jó
 Ola HTS PROG dance
 "Ola was/is dancing"

In normal adult speech, (b) would be the appropriate answer. We are not denying here the possibility of using the examples in (27) to show that children and adult often allocate different functions to features but at the same time, the examples in (27) would also seem to indicate that the perfective, as the unmarked member, is ontogenetically basic to the language in a way the others are not.

At this juncture, the question that could be asked is why is the HTS so different from the other aspect markers? That is, first, why does it not commute with the other aspect markers? and second, why do we establish the subcategory only to have it neutralized in the environment of the other aspect subcategories? This apparently unique characteristic of the HTS or the perfective in the language is not an isolated case, either in languages generally or in Yoruba as the following example illustrate.

(a). On the commutation principle – which states that 'a lexical item L shall not be assigned to a grammatical category C unless there are at least some sentences containing L in which some other lexical item in C could replace L without altering grammaticality' (Pullum 1983:207–209), – we would argue, in line with Pullum that 'it is not correct to reject' the HTS as a perfective marker '... on the grounds that it constitutes an exception to the generalization implicit in the commutation principle' (ibid). Some of the examples noted by Pullum in which the commutation principle is not adhered to in grammar are:

- (a) The use of "ought" as an Auxiliary (Chomsky:1957).
- (b) The classification of "have" as a verb (Emonds:1978).
- (c) The classification of "near" as an adjective
(Mailing:1983).
- (d) His own classification of the infinitival
"to" as a verb
- (e) The fact that no members of the category
(NP[+PRO]) could substitute for the dummy
pronouns "it" and "there" "nor can they
substitute for each other" (Pullum 1983:209).

(b). On the neutralization of the perfective, our argument is identical to that for another language by Dahl (1985). While discussing the Tense and Aspect systems of Karaboro, a Gur language family spoken in Upper Volta, Dahl

(1985:178)** states that '...the simplest way of sorting out these rather complex facts is to assume that the high tone on the subject ... is a marker of IMPFV which may be neutralized when some other marker appears'. Essien (1983:342-343) also notes that this principle of contrast versus neutrality is used by Kaufman (1968) to explain certain aspects of Ibibio verb constructions. That this type of neutralization is not attested in other languages could be accounted for in two ways.

First, it could be explained by Comrie's (1976:64) claim that languages are not completely symmetrical, hence, where one language contrasts, another might decide to neutralize. In Friedrich's words (noted by McCoard 1978:25 n.10), 'a feature with approximately the same meaning (semantic value) may have markedly different taxonomic status' in different languages.

Secondly, perfectivity, or any other aspectual category, manifests itself differently in different languages. According to Smith (1986:110), the perfective viewpoint is not expressed uniformly. For example in English (and also, to some extent, in Yoruba), the perfective presents 'a situation in its entirety (but) ... the viewpoint varies in interpretation depending on the endpoint properties of situations. The French perfective viewpoint (on the other hand) ... presents a situation as complete including the change of state attendant on beginning and ending. The interpretation is consistent for all situations'. Klein (1969:117) (noted by McCoard 1978:25 n.8) also asserts that 'in Russian, a marker of *aktionsart* determines the aspect, in French, it generally doesn't'.

Apart from other languages, examples also abound within Yoruba which show that the claim of analytical illogicality or inconsistency is not peculiar to the perfective alone. Here, we shall present two examples.

While arguing for the representation of 'only the significant sound' in the language's orthography and that this sound should be represented with only one symbol, Bamgbose (1965:6)** refers to the problem this principle would encounter with the sounds represented by letters l and n. According to him,

the former sound is found only before nasalized vowels whereas the latter is found only before non-nasalized vowels. We can say nún but not nú. We can say lɔ but not lɔn. The conclusion one can draw from the alternation of the two sounds is that they are not significant. In other words, they can be represented by one symbol which will have the sound represented by the letter n before nasalized vowels, and the sound represented by the letter l before other vowels. It is doubtful, however, whether such a logical innovation will ever be accepted. Can you imagine having to write ɔlɔ "grinding stone" as ɔnɔ, or inun "inside" as ilún?

What is remarkable here is that despite the illogicality mentioned above, especially the neutralization of the said letters in some given contexts, the consensus view among the Yoruba writers today is the recognition of both n and l as two distinct sounds. The environments in which either of them neutralizes are then accounted for by rules.

During his cross-linguistic study of numeral systems, Hurford (1975:211)** also makes the following observations about the language's numeral system:

Subtraction is indeed used by a few scattered languages all over the world, but it is rarely used extensively through the whole numeral system. A spectacular exception to this general rule is Yoruba, whose very complicated numeral system uses subtraction to about the same extent as, and possibly even more than, addition ... Yoruba has what is probably the most unusual and complicated of any world's natural language numeral systems. ... The numerals in Yoruba are often subject to fairly radical phonological modification.

3.2.6. Conclusion

We believe that enough examples have been provided to show that the HTS neither definitizes nor marks tense but rather, what it indicates is the perfectivity of a given situation.

3.3. Introducing the Imperfective Aspect and the Phase System

Despite Oyelaran's (1982a:41) claim that both the imperfective and what he regards as the perfect aspect in Yoruba are not controversial, a look at some of the writing on the topics shows several crucial problem areas.

Where the imperfective aspect is concerned, if Oyelaran's reference to Comrie's (1976)** instructive account on the topic is anything to go by, one could say that none of the Yoruba scholars to date has actually written anything on this subcategory of aspect. What previous writers (i.e. Awobuluyi (1966) and Oke (1969)) often mention are the durative and the habitual aspects. Though these two could be regarded as subcategories of the imperfective as defined by Comrie (1976)** (if we tentatively take durativity as equivalent of progressivity), they are characterized differently by these writers and no attempt is made by any of them to account for "both in relation to each other and each to other subcategories" (Oyelaran 1982a:41).

For example, Awobuluyi (1966:263–264)** regards both máa ń/máa ń and ń/ń as in (28) and (29) respectively as having the same meaning, hence, "the preverb máa seems redundant" in (28):

- (28) bọ́lǎ máa ń ta ìwé
 "Bola sells books"
 or "Bola used to sell books"

concludes that "... it is the progressive aspect rather than time which is the standard by which the 'action' of the verb is judged; it could be 'today, yesterday or tomorrow', ... in ... Yoruba one can say: 'I'm in the process of going to market' – the verb does not change its form nor the personal pronoun its shape with any change along a time-scale".

Bamgbose (1963:144)** also classifies what Oyelaran regards as the perfect marker in Yoruba as the perfective marker. Abraham (1958:639)** regards this same item as the past tense marker in the language. Amuda (1986:199–200) also makes the following remarks about what he regards as the Yoruba Tense and Aspect Systems:

The tense system of Yoruba has two terms: simple and perfective. The simple tense has five positive and four negative sub-terms. The positive sub-terms include: future, conditional, continuative, habitual, and unmarked. The unmarked tense, whether in the positive or negative, is made up of past and present or neutral. The perfective is also made up of the same number of sub-terms as in the simple tense. The only difference is the occurrence of the perfective marker ti "have" with each of the sub-terms in the perfective. Unlike English, Yoruba has no affixes with base forms of the verbs for deriving past tense such as the -ed or the third person singular -s form.

As no examples are given, it is not clear to us how Amuda's simple tense terms can be realized in the language. His perfective term is the same as that of Bamgbose noted above.

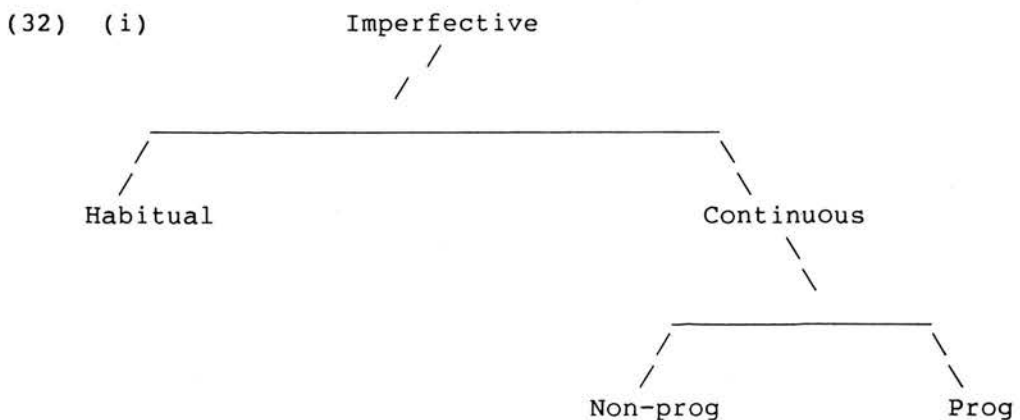
We also have some misgivings about the accuracy of the use of such terms as durative, terminative, ingressive etc. by Awobuluyi (1967)** and Odunuga (1982)** for some subcategories of aspect in the language. Studies have shown that these terms do not refer to aspectual subcategories. Rather, they are elements of what is often referred to in literature as "Mode of Action (=Aktionsart in German)" (Nehl 1978:49). In Safarewicz's (1974:328) opinion,

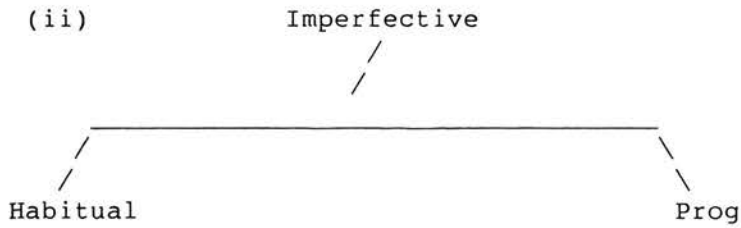
"they are nothing else but certain features of the vocabulary; they do not form any grammatical category" and Nehl (1978:49) warns that the description of aspect should "not be confounded with" such terms.

Apart from the controversies noted above, a greater weakness of all the previous works which have anything to do with any aspect of perfect and the imperfective is their failure to take the trouble to discuss their forms and contents in detail. Our concern in the remaining part of this chapter, then, is to account for some of the discrepancies mentioned above. We begin with the imperfective.

3.4. The Imperfective Aspect in Yoruba

Comrie (1976:24-25)** takes the imperfective aspect as referring "to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within". He also identifies two different types of imperfective (IMPFV henceforth) in languages – one in which IMPFV is realized as a single subcategory of aspect and the other in which IMPFV itself could still be divided into other subcategories. The Yoruba IMPFV belongs to the second class. It differs, however, from Comrie's (1976:25)** classification shown in (32) (i) in that there is no non-progressive continuous marker in the language as shown in (32) (ii).





3.4.1. The Progressive Aspect

Ljung (1980:27) regards the progressive aspect as "a special imperfective construction which allows us to view a dynamic, non-state predicate 'from within' without losing its dynamic character". Various other writers (see especially Fleet 1979:14; Dahl 1985:91) claim that the progressive aspect regards an activity not only as durative or continuous but essentially as on-going. Edgren (1985:74) is very particular about the importance of 'on-goingness' to a proper description of the progressive aspect. According to her, progressiveness is a subdivision of imperfectivity, the basic function of which is to mark action as going on, "with the added feature of non-stativity". She then adds that "ongoing activity does not necessarily mean continuous activity". The item that performs these types of functions in Yoruba and so could be said to mark the progressive aspect in the language is ń. It has a suppletive máá, which replaces it after modal verbs and in imperative constructions. Both items are exemplified in the following sentences:

- (33) (i) Mo ń na Adé
 I PROG hit Ade
 "I am hitting Ade"

- (ii) Máá lẹ
 PROG go
 "Start to go (now)"

- (iii) Mo lè máa na Adé
 I M PROG beat Ade
 "I can start hitting Ade"

Apart from the examples in (33), Oyelaran (1982a:45) also states that this suppletive form of ń also occurs "before (a certain ń) in a modal construction" and after the NEG. As examples are not given, we can only guess that it is the occurrence of máa together with ń in such constructions as Ó máa ń jẹ ọgẹdẹ "He usually eats bananas" that he is referring to. If this is the case, we doubt the correctness of this view. Our claim here is very much in line with the one made by Oke (1969:440-449)** who, with convincing evidence, shows that máań is a polymorphemic word used in the language to mark Habitual Aspect.

Some writers do not accept Oke's argument. The question they often ask is that if máań is the habitual aspect marker, why are its functions often taken over by the progressive marker as in Ó ń lẹ which, depending on the context, could be given a progressive reading, glossed by "He is going" or a habitual reading, "He usually goes". Because the progressive could be so used, they argue that both the progressive and the habitual aspects should be classified as one.

We find this argument difficult to accept because habitual readings of the progressive in some contexts are common in many languages of the world. These readings are not, in any way, used as points against the establishment of the imperfective subcategories of progressive and habitual in such languages, especially if evidence that they are distinct can be provided.

In English, for example, Bennet (1981:21) says that some habitual interpretation of the progressive is possible when the progressive is given a non-reportive reading. Hence, "John is running", according to him,

... is true at interval of time I if and only if I is a moment of time and there exists an interval of time I' (possibly constrained in some ways by the context) such that I is included in I' but is not an endpoint for I' and John is in the extension of run with respect to a CLOSED interval of time MANY times each @ in I', where @ is some measure of length of time, like week, which is vague.

Blansitt (1975:2) also distinguishes between the generic and non-generic readings of the progressive. While the former is used to refer to an action "in progress", the latter is usually used in a restricted habitual construction. Mufwene (1984:41) refers to this habitual use of the progressive as "the habituated extension of the progressive".

As this discussion shows, some habitual reading of the progressive is not peculiar to Yoruba. To account for the habitual use of the progressive, one can propose a habitual subcategory for the language and "distinguish between a metalinguistic (and perhaps universal) (sub)category of progressive and the progressive form" (Freed 1979:15 quoting Comrie) in Yoruba of which the range of the latter is wider than the former. This suggestion becomes tenable when one notes many examples where both the progressive and the habitual contrast. An example of such contrasts is given in (34).

- (34) (i) Ọ ń gbẹ
 "It is/was becoming dry"
- (ii) Ọ máa ń gbẹ
 "It usually becomes/became dry"
 (Quoted from Awobuluyi 1966:265)

In (34), the progressive cannot be given any habitual reading, nor can the habitual marker be given a progressive reading. Examples of these types of sentences which abound in the language call for a progressive/habitual distinction.

It will be recalled that "ongoingness" has been established as the most important property central to the use of progressive aspect. Most Yoruba writers do not give this property the prominent treatment it deserves when discussing the progressive aspect in the language. They often lay emphasis on the durativity of the action expressed by the verb with which the progressive marker cooccurs. Most of them even drop the term "progressive" and adopt the term "durative" while discussing the item we have identified as the progressive marker. Dahl's (1985:91)** comment on this is that "The label 'durative' for PROG, ... is misleading in that it gives the impression that PROG is used in contexts where duration of a process is stressed". Hence, while "PROG naturally occurs with punctual temporal reference" in (35) (i), it is generally avoided in (35) (ii) (a).

- (35) (i) Ní ìwòyí ànǎ, ọ sì n na Olú
 In this time yesterday, he still PROG hit Olu
 "By this time yesterday, he was still hitting Olu"

- (ii) (a) Ọ n kọrin fún wákàtí mẹta
 He PROG sing for hour three
 "He was singing for three hours"

- (b) Ọ kọrin fún wákàtí mẹta
 He sing for hour three
 "He sang for three hours"

Edgren (1985:74) shares Dahl's view.

At a first glance, it may look as if Awobuluyi's treatment of what he regards as 'durative' is very much in line with the view of the progressive expressed by these two writers. This claim becomes stronger if one notes the following comments made by him on his idea of durativity. First, he defines the subcategory as indicating "action occurring through time" which, depending on the context, "may be interpreted as either continuous or habitual" (Awobuluyi

1966:262)**. He then goes on to add that:

The durative does not cooccur with such adverbials of time as 'three hours', 'a whole day' etc. Thus, one does not say in Yoruba:

*bọlá ní ẹ̀ ẹ̀ ẹ̀ fún WÁKÀTÍ MÈÈTA
 "Bola aspect-marker do work for three hours"
 i.e. "Bola works for three hours"

but

bọlá ẹ̀ ẹ̀ ẹ̀ fún WÁKÀTÍ MÈÈTA
 "Bola worked for three hours"

without a durative aspect marker. In view of this, our term 'durative' is for the present account not likely to signify more than the feature that is common to habitual and continuous action (Awobuluyi 1966:284, n. 93)**.
 (our capitalisation)

From the above quotation one could deduce that the feature common to both the habitual and the continuous is the non-collocability with the type of adverbials of time capitalized in the quotation. But a look at Awobuluyi's discussion on 'durative' shows that most of the examples used can cooccur with the adverbials of time noted in his examples. Almost all his examples with habitual marker take these adverbs freely. So, whereas a sentence with a progressive marker, as the one in Awobuluyi's quotation, is not acceptable, sentences of the type in (36) are:

- (36) Ó máa ní ẹ̀ ẹ̀ ẹ̀ fún wákàtí mēta lójúńmó
 He HAB do work for hour three in one day
 "He usually works for three hours a day"

So, with (36), we are saying that the claim made by Awobuluyi in the above quotation, applies to the progressive (or what he calls the continuous) aspect alone. Thus, the collocability or the non-collocability of the progressive and the habitual with these types of adverbials of time serves as another valid

ground for our wanting to distinguish the habitual from the progressive aspect.

3.4.2. Dynamic – Stative

Another important feature ascribed to the progressive by Edgren is the non-stativity feature. By this is meant that the use or non-use of the progressive depends on the type of verb with which it cooccurs. Various writers have expressed this claim in various ways. According to Lyons (1966:222), "the notional categories of action and state are relevant to the classification of verb ... for the purpose of generating well-formed sentences". Though Comrie uses the term 'situation' as a cover term for state, event or process, his remark that "in discussing aspect it is often necessary to refer to the differences between states, events, processes etc." (Comrie 1976:13)** is very much in line with Lyons' observation. To most Yoruba linguists, the progressive naturally cooccurs with the dynamic verbs. But does this mean that the progressive cannot occur with the stative in the language?

The following comments are noted in the literature. In Ajeigbe's (1979:16)** opinion, the stative verbs in the language can cooccur with all tense markers. His examples are:

(37) (a) Adé ti burú rí şùgbón kò burú mọ
 Ade have been wicked before but not wicked again
 "Ade has been wicked in the past but he is no
 longer wicked"

(b) Òjò yíò ga tó Adé ní ọdún yí
 Ojo shall tall equal Ade in year this
 "Ojo will be as tall as Ade this year"

As he does not state whether the progressive is one of the tense markers and as the examples given to justify his claim do not include the progressive, his view on the cooccurrence of the stative verbs and the progressive is not clear

to us.

Oyelaran (1982a:37), on the other hand, states clearly that when the stative verb (he uses the term "verbs of perception") takes the progressive marker, (he also calls this "imperfective marker") "the only permissible reading is iteration, since reference to situation-internal time would be nonsensical".

In as much as we agree with Oyelaran that the progressive can occur with stative verbs for iterative purpose, we are also of the opinion that reference can still be made to the situation-internal time of such verbs. A look at the sentences in (38) shows that, with the presence of the progressive marker, apart from the fact that the verbs are iterated or intensified, the speaker is also focussing on the properties of states that resemble those of events (Smith 1983:498).

- (38) (i) Mo n' gbọ́n sí i
I PROG wise more it
"I am becoming wiser"

- (ii) Mo n' gbọ́ Yorùbá sí i
I PROG hear Yoruba more it
"My knowledge of Yoruba is improving"

- (iii) Ó n' jọ́ baba rẹ́ sí i lójójúmọ́
He PROG resemble father his more it everyday
"He gets more like his father every day"

The verb in the individual sentence has now been given the dynamism of an event. Hence one is able to perceive not only the internal structures of the situation, but also successions of stages which are located on a continuum. Thus, the stative verbs: gbọ́n "to be wise", gbọ́ "to hear", jọ́ "to resemble" are now seen to be involved in some changes "from one stage to the other" (Smith 1983:483).

Smith's view is very much in line with Mufwene's (1984:35) notion of the progressive "as a kind of quantifier" which (i) converts events expected to be punctual into longer-lasting, even if transient, states of affairs (ii) conversely converts those states of affairs expected to last long [lexical statives] to shorter-lasting/transient states of affairs (iii) simply presents those verbs whose denotations are neutral with regards to duration as in process/in [transient] duration, though duration is expected of statives.

These observations lead us to the conclusion that, though it is natural for the progressive to occur with dynamic verbs, it also occurs with the stative verbs in the language. When this happens, just as in other languages, such stative verbs are treated as dynamic verbs.

3.4.3. The Progressive in Imperative Constructions

The occurrence of the progressive aspect in the Yoruba imperative constructions merits some mention in this work. Apart from the notion of futurity (which is often explained in pragmatic terms) only a progressive reading can be given to an imperative. This principle also applies to Yoruba, but in a rather peculiar manner. Observe the following non-progressive imperatives and their progressive counterparts.

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| (39) (i) Lọ
"go" | Máa lọ
PROG go
"Start going" |
| (ii) Jẹun
"eat" | Máa jẹun
PROG eat
"Start eating" |
| (iii) Sùn
"Sleep" | Máa sùn
PROG sleep
"Continue sleeping" |

All the three non-progressive imperatives are matched with the progressive ones. We think there are two ways in which the frequent occurrence of the progressive in the imperatives in the language can be explained. First, the progressive marker cooccurs obligatorily with some verbs. So, the question of whether the verbs are used declaratively, imperatively or interrogatively does not come up, they both have to cooccur. Examples are:

- (40) DECLARATIVE
 Mo n' bọ
 I PROG come
 "I am on my way"
- *Mo bọ
 I come
-
- INTERROGATIVE
 Ớế o n' bọ ?
 Q you PROG come
 "Are you coming ?"
- *Ớế o bọ
 Q you come
-
- IMPERATIVE
 Mấa bọ
 PROG come
 "Start coming"
- *bọ
 "come"

Second, just as it does elsewhere, the progressive "allows the speaker to tell the addressee, not merely to do something, but to be in the process of doing it at some particular moment" (Davies 1986:15-16).

- (41) (i) Sọ ọ k'í n tó đế
 Say it that I before arrive
 "Say it before my arrival"
- (ii) Mấa sọ ọ k'í n tó đế
 PROG say it that I before arrive
 "Start saying it before my arrival"

(41) (i) does not require the type of action in progress required in (41) (ii).

It should be noted too that just as in the declarative sentence, the progressive can also be given an habitual interpretation. But this can only be possible in a

positive construction. In a negative construction, the progressive is quite distinct from the habitual. The distinction is shown clearly in (42).

- (42) (i) POSITIVE
 Máá jẹun
 "Start eating
 or
 Stay eating"
- (ii) NEGATIVE
 Má jẹun
 "Do not eat" (for prog)
- Má máá jẹun
 "Do not eat (at all)" (for Hab)

Thus, the distinct habitual and progressive negative imperative constructions also stand as another valid ground for our proposed subcategories of Habitual and Progressive in the language.

3.4.4. The Progressive and the Locative Expressions in Yoruba

Few linguists will deny the fact that there are striking parallels in many unrelated languages between the locative and the progressive expressions. In some languages, the claim is that it is not only possible to give examples to show the semantic relationship of these two expressions but to show that the syntactic markers of such expressions are connected. While there is a fairly general agreement on the first claim, opinion still differs as to whether the progressive-locative connection should be extended to the syntactic form.

In his discussion on the Yoruba Verbal System, Welmers (1973:313-315)** applies this localist theory to the Yoruba progressive. His conclusion is that the Yoruba progressive is not only semantically similar to the locative but that both share the same form. Comrie (1976:101)**, on the other hand, while not denying that some progressive-locative connections exist in the language,

notes that there "is a slight difference between the progressive and the strictly locative constructions ..." marked by ní and ní respectively.

In this section, we shall provide further evidence to support Comrie that if a strong case can be made for a semantic resemblance between the progressive and the locative expressions in Yoruba, the same cannot be extended to their syntactic forms.

First, we would like to challenge the claim that both ní, the locative marker, and ní, the progressive marker, have l as their allomorph (Comrie 1976:101)**.

The progressive marker in the language always occurs before consonants. This is because the item occurs only before other items with [+V] feature and items with this feature have initial consonants. This is not to say that one cannot give examples in which the progressive marker can occur before a vowel. A loanword, àsúq "assure", which is realized as a verb in the language, is one of such examples. Even with such an example, our claim that the progressive marker does not have an allomorph l still holds. For example, whereas in place of ní, the locative marker in (43) (i), the allomorph l can be used as in (43) (ii), the use of l in place of the progressive marker ní is not possible as shown in (43) (iii) and (iv).

- (43) (i) Mo rí Olú ní àná
 (ii) Mo rí Olú lánàá
 I saw Olu in yesterday
 "I saw Olu yesterday"
- (iii) Mo ní àsúq rẹ
 (iv) *Mo lāsúq rẹ
 I PROG assure him
 "I am giving him some assurance"

This shows that even if there is a possibility of a vowel initialled verbal item in

the language, the use of the allomorph l for the progressive marker will still not be possible.

Our second point concerns the possible source of the progressive marker. Welmers' (1973:314)** suggestion on this is that a possible "relationship between n' and ni'" should be strongly considered. In his opinion, the progressive marker, n, must have resulted from the deletion of the vowel in the locative marker ni. Our observation of the language in use does not support a locative derivational source for the progressive marker. Rather, what we notice is that the possible source of the progressive is the item mi', as in (44), which is still being used in the Ife and Ijebu dialects of Yoruba and of which no morphological relationship can be established between it and the locative marker.

- (44) Mo mi' lɔ
 I PROG go
 "I am going"

The importance of "systematic comparison between ... dialects" for reconstructing earlier diachronic stages of a language in "Africa, where early records are hardly available" has been emphasized by Heine and Reh (1984:90). While discussing the source of the Yoruba syllabic nasal, Oyelaran (1983b) provides some examples to show that nasal syllabics, such as the progressive marker, are derived from vowels. According to him, n', the progressive marker in standard Yoruba is derived from mi', the progressive marker in Ife and Ijebu dialects, through the following processes. The item mi' deletes its initial consonant, "particularly when, preceded in the utterance by another item with a major syntactic function, the consonant finds itself in an intervocalic position" (Oyelaran 1983b:18). After the deletion, the front high vowel which then "constitutes the syllable by itself" is replaced by a homorganic nasal syllabic.

Oyelaran then goes on to discuss the differences between nasal syllabics and syllabic nasals which do not concern us here. What is relevant is that in Oyelaran's opinion, what we start with is (45).

- (45) (i) Mo mǐ lɔ̃
I PROG go
"I am going"
- (ii) Mo mǐ bɔ̃
I PROG come
"I am coming"

From (45), after the deletion of the intervocalic consonant, we have (46) where the high front vowel becomes stranded:

- (46) (i) Mo ɪ lɔ̃
I PROG go
"I am going"
- (ii) Mo ɪ bɔ̃
I PROG come
"I am coming"

An homorganic nasal then replaces the stranded high nasal vowel to give (47):

- (47) (i) Mo ɲ lɔ̃
I PROG go
"I am going"
- (ii) Mo ɲ bɔ̃
I PROG come
"I am coming"

That the above suggestion by Oyelaran adequately captures the source of the progressive marker in standard Yoruba is supported by the fact that in the Ekiti dialect of Yoruba, the high nasal vowel in (46) is not replaced by a homorganic nasal. In such dialects, instead of the replacement that takes place in (47), what we have is the assimilation of the nasal vowel as shown in (48):

- (48) (i) Mè ẹ lọ
I PROG go
"I am going"
- (ii) Mè ẹ bọ
I PROG come
"I am coming"

Oyelaran (1983b:12) also gives examples to show how a nasal syllabic can be derived from the locative expression ní. First we have (49) (i) from which (49) (ii) is derived through contraction. An intervocalic consonant deletion takes place in (49) (ii) to yield (49) (iii) where we also have a stranded nasal vowel. Finally, the high front vowel is replaced by a nasal to give (49) (iv).

- (49) (i) Mo wà ní ilé
I be in house
"I am at home"
- (ii) Mo wà nílé
I be in house
"I am at home"
- (iii) Mo wà í lé
I be in house
"I am at home"
- (iv) Mo wà nlé
I be in house
"I am at home"

The examples in (50) show quite clearly that, though both the locative and the progressive markers can be homophonous as in (47) (i) and (49) (iv), their sources are different (All examples are taken from Oyelaran (1983b)):

- (50) (i) Ìgbà ní mo yègò < Ìgbà tí mo yègò
Time which I lift mask
"When I carry the mask" (p. 6).

- (ii) Ilé n' kó ? < Ilé sí kó
Home be ?
"How is home ?" (p. 8).
- (iii) Bí òhpa ò pa < bí òpìpa ò pa
If the plower NEG plow
"If the plower fails to plow"
- (iv) Kí ni ònkó ọ kó ? < Kí ni òkìkó ọ kó ?
What (FOC) harrower will harrow ?
"What will the harrower harrow ?" (p. 7)
- (v) Àjínḁ < Àjídìḁ
"Resurrection"

For clarity, the derivations in the above examples are shown in (51):

- (51) (i) n' mo < tí mo
(ii) n' kó < sí kó
(iii) òhpa < òpìpa
(iv) ònkó < òkìkó
(v) ḁde < dìḁ

From the above examples, one can conclude that the apparent homophonous forms of both the locative and the progressive markers should not deceive one into arguing that the latter derives from the former. For such derivation, what is often suggested is a deletion of the vowel in the locative marker. But as Oyelaran (1983b) has convincingly argued, mere deletion of vowels cannot explain the derivation taking place in (51). So, while a link between the progressive markers in Ife, Ekiti, Ijebu and the standard Yoruba is very easy to prove with Oyelaran's account, there is no non-ad hoc means by which one can establish a link between these markers and the locative marker. Such ad hoc rules will most likely postulate vowel deletion for the standard Yoruba progressive marker i.e. "n'" < "ní", a consonant deletion and an assimilation for the Ekiti variety i.e. "í" < "ní" and the conversion of the bilabial nasal to alveolar for the Ijebu and Ife dialect varieties i.e. "mí" < "ní". With such rules,

the generalization that is noted in Oyelaran's account will be lost. Apart from this, such rules will still need to go further to account for the individual items in (51).

Comrie (1975:90) rejects Anderson's proposal of an absolute identity for the locative and the progressive markers in Welsh on the ground that both do not respond to mutation and elision in the same way. From the above examples, we conclude that a formal relationship parallel to the semantic identity established for the locative and the progressive cannot be justified in Yoruba. First, they do not share the same allomorph as is often claimed. Second, anyone who attempts to link the progressive marker, ní, with the locative marker ní will still need to account for the progressive markers in Ife, Ijebu and Ekiti (which have a great deal in common with their Standard Yoruba counterpart). Third, one would also have to account for other items in the language which are derived through the same process.

3.5. The Yoruba Habitual Aspect

The habitual aspect is regarded as "describing a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely as a characteristic feature of a whole period" (Comrie 1976:27-28)**. The notion of "extended period" as used in the above definition is conceptual rather than linguistic hence, Comrie (1976:27)** warns that habituality should not be confused with iterativity. According to him, "the mere repetition of a situation is not sufficient for that situation to be referred to by a specific habitual ... form". The reason for this is that "a situation can be referred to by a habitual form without there being any iterativity at all" (Comrie 1976:27). In support of this view, Dahl (1985:97)** adds that "the difference between 'once'

and 'twice' or even 'seven times' is almost totally irrelevant to HAB". With these two writers' view of habitual, one can conclude that sentences such as (52) are not in any way habitual.

- (52) (i) $\text{Ó ló sí oko púpò ní èsì}$
 He go to farm plenty in last year
 "He went to the farm many times last year"
- (ii) $\text{O ló sí oko ní ọgọrùún ìgbà ní èsì}$
 He go to farm in hundred times in last year
 "He went to the farm a hundred times last year"

Rather, what actually marks the habitual aspect in the language is the polymorphemic word máa n̄. What the use of this item in any sentence indicates is that the action expressed "took place in the majority of those occasions" (Dahl 1985:97) indicated or understood in the sentence. Thus the item, as used in (53), refers to indefinite individual occasions when the action takes place.

- (53) Ó máa n̄ ló
 He HAB go
 "He usually goes"

The notion of an indefinite occurrence of an action credited to the habitual aspect does not mean that it could be interpreted as denoting the same notion with such adverbials of time as nígbà gbogbo "every time". That the appendage sùgbón ní èèkòòkan, $\text{ó máa n̄ wọ aṣọ funfun}$ "but once in a while, he puts on white clothes" is possible with (54) (i) but not with (54) (ii) brings this out clearly.

- (54) (i) Ó mǎá n' wọ aṣọ dúdú, ṣùgbọ́n ní ẹ̀ẹ̀kọ̀ọkan,
He HAB wear clothes black, but in one one time,

Ó mǎá n' wọ aṣọ funfun
He HAB wear clothes white

"He usually puts on black clothes but once in a while he puts on white"

- (ii) *Ó mǎá n' wọ aṣọ dúdú nígbà gbogbo, ṣùgbọ́n ní
He PROG wear clothe black in time all, but in

ẹ̀ẹ̀kọ̀ọkan, Ó mǎá n' wọ aṣọ funfun
in one one time, he HAB wear clothe white

"He is always putting on black clothes but once in a while, he puts on white"

Despite the fact that there is no controversy on the notion of the habitual aspect as defined above, the form in which the subcategory is realized in the language is still a subject of dispute. To most Yoruba scholars, the subcategory does not exist. To some few others, only some Yoruba speakers use it, "other speakers use the n' form (the progressive marker) freely in both senses" (Comrie 1976:101 quoting Rowlands)**. The only Yoruba scholar who has given an unqualified support for the postulation of the subcategory in the language is Oke (1969:440-448)**. One of the reasons he gives for regarding the habitual as a distinct subcategory from the progressive is that the distribution of the habitual is quite different from that of the progressive. According to him, whereas verbs such as wá "to come" and wà "to be" cannot be immediately preceded by the progressive, they occur with the habitual quite freely. Examples are:

- (55) (i) Ó mǎá n' wá
He HAB come
"He usually comes"

(ii) Ó mǎa n wà ní ibẹ̀
 He HAB be in there
 "He is usually there"

(iii) *Ó n wá
 He PROG come
 He is coming

(iv) *Ó n wà⁹
 He PROG be
 "He is being"

On the other hand, verbs, such as bọ "to come" and bẹ "to be", are not also immediately preceded by the habitual markers. Examples are:

(56) (i) *Ó mǎa n bọ
 He HAB come
 "He usually comes"

(ii) *Ó mǎa n bẹ
 He HAB be
 "He is usually existing"

(iii) Ó n bọ
 He PROG come
 "He is on his way"

(iv) Ó n bẹ ní ibẹ̀
 He PROG be in there
 "He is there"

These examples, according to Oke, show that the Progressive and Habitual markers have different distributions.

Our previous discussion will have shown that we are very much in support of Oke's view that there should be a distinct Habitual subcategory of Aspect in the language. One may then wonder why the opinions of the Yoruba grammarians differ on the status of the Habitual subcategory of Aspect in the language.

The main reason for this divided view can be traced to the fact that both the Habitual and the Progressive share the same variant forms. Hence, the sentence in (57) has two interpretations which the negations in (58) clearly distinguish:

- (57) *Máa şe é*
 (a) Start to do it (right now)
 (b) Continue to do it (henceforth)"
- (58) (a) *Má şe é*
 NEG do it
 "Don't do it (now)"
- (b) *Má máa şe é*
 NEG HAB do it
 "Do not do it (henceforth)"

While (58) (a) negates the Progressive, the Habitual can be negated only as in (58) (b). Most linguists who do not consider examples such as (57) and (58) or the ones given by Oke in (55)–(56) or the ones we have given earlier on in (34) often conclude that *máa ní* and *máa* are the contextual realizations of the Progressive.

We hope that enough has been said here to show that the Habitual to which almost all Yoruba scholars give a notional recognition, needs to be formally distinguished from the Progressive.

3.6. Phase System in Yoruba

In the previous sections of this chapter, we have been able to show how the Yoruba speakers indicate whether the action expressed by the verb is an indivisible unity or one that is in progress. In the first case, the action is represented as a clear-cut fact while in the second, the action is represented as having no clear limit. The first case is achieved in the language by the use

of the perfective marker and the second is achieved by the use of the markers of the imperfective subcategories.

King (1983) discusses the grammatical categories from the relational point of view. First, he defines orientation "as that semantic notion which allows the speaker to express an ordering relationship for the reported situation". He then classifies the types of ordering relationship into two – the primary form and the relational form. He classifies both the perfective and the imperfective as the primary form. By the primary form he means that they do not express any orientation and that no ordering relationship is involved in the action they depict. The relational form on the other hand relates one situation to another.

Having discussed how some of the primary forms are expressed in Yoruba, we will now go on to show how the Yoruba speakers relate one situation-token to another situation-token in an utterance-situation¹⁰. This relationship is shown by what Thrane (1983:188) regards as the Phase. Thrane defines Phase as "the category which enables H (the hearer) to identify a particular S-token of a certain type in terms of its sequential order relative to some other S-token". The item that is used in the language to show such a relationship is ti "has/have/had". This item, as we have discussed above, has been analysed either as a past tense marker or a perfective marker.

According to Thrane (1983:189), "the basic semantic function of Phase is such that it will allow valid inferences to be drawn from it in the direction of both Tense and Aspect" but whereas the two latter categories are concerned with matters of time, the former is concerned with space. For example, in (59), the Phase marker ti "has" only indicates the sequential ordering of the S-tokens involved relative to the Utterance-situation.

- (59) Ó ti lq kí á tó ó dế
He PH go before we equal INF come
"He had left before our arrival"

The Phase marker in (59) does not say where the entities are at any absolute sense. What it states is that "the entities are arranged relative to one another along a single spatial dimension" (Thrane 1983:188).

King (1983:147) uses the term "relational form" for this marker. The reason is that, in term of orientation, what the marker does is to relate two S-tokens to each other relative to the utterance situation. The Utterance-situation is not fixed in any way. Thus, (60) (i) can be read either as (60) (ii) or (60) (iii) depending on the nature of the Utterance-situation.

- (60) (i) Ó ti lq
He PH go
"He has gone"
- (ii) Ó ti lq (Ó fún un lówó nì yẹn)
He PH go (He give him money is that)
"He has gone (He must have given him some money)"
- (iii) Ó ti lq (Ó fẹ́ ẹ́ fún un lówó nì yẹn)
He PH go (He want INF give him in money
is that)
"He has gone (that means he wants to give
him some money)"

It will be noted that the "sequentiality of the anterior S-token" (Thrane 1983:188) in (60) (ii) has undergone some subtle changes in (60) (iii). This change, according to Thrane, shows that Phase is essentially concerned with sequence and only inferentially with time.

3.6.1. Tense, Aspect and Phase

With the notion of Phase as described above, the reason why its marker has been analysed either as a past tense marker or as a perfective marker can now be explained. Tense has been defined as "the category which enables H (the Hearer) to identify a particular S-token in terms of its temporal occurrence relative to the deictic centre of the Utterance-situation" (Thrane 1983:188). With this definition, it becomes clear why two sequentially arranged S-tokens are given some temporal cooccurrence attributes. Before two S-tokens can be sequentially ordered, "they both have to be 'there' at the same time" (Thrane 1983:189). What time does in such circumstances is to impose some direction on the sequential order of the S-tokens. The mere mention of the terms 'anterior', 'posterior', 'after' and 'before' while defining Phase shows that time has to impose some directionality on the sequential order. It is because of this linguistic encoding of sequential order that some Yoruba scholars inaccurately regards the item ti "has" as a past tense marker.

The past tense, in the languages in which it occurs, is regarded as simply stating that a given situation obtained before the Utterance-situation without any reference to overt orientation. The item ti does not function in this way. Rather, what it only indicates is the sequentiality of S-tokens. In our opinion, it is the notion of one S-token being anterior to another that the advocates of the past tense analysis of the item ti "has" regard as tense.

If we now turn to the perfective, what we note is that Phase also draws some Aspectual meaning especially from this sub-category of Aspect. Aspect is taken as "a category which enables H to identify a particular S-token in term of its internal temporal structure" (Thrane 1983:188). For two S-tokens to be considered to be sequential, one must have been perceived as either 'complete'

or 'finished'. Since the notion of perfective denotes a situation viewed in its entirety, it is not surprising that the perfective and the Phase are often confused with each other. The confusion stems from the 'complete' notion which Phase partially shares with the perfective.

3.6.2. The Phase as a Relational form

Phase, as we have stated, is by orientation a relational form. It does not refer to any particular S-token but relates one S-token to another. Both the perfective and the imperfective subcategories, on the other hand, are regarded as primary forms, the reason being that no sequential ordering of any S-token is made by them. They can both cooccur with the Phase.

When the perfective cooccurs with the Phase in an S-token, it views such an S-token in its entirety and orders it sequentially relative to the Utterance-situation. When the Phase cooccurs with the progressive, it indicates that what is ordered sequentially relative to the Utterance-situation is the middle of the said S-token. Finally, the Phase marker cooccurs with the Habitual marker to indicate that an indefinite occurrence of S-tokens is ordered sequentially relative to the Utterance-situation. Examples are:

(61) (i) PERFECTIVE AND PHASE

Olú ú ti lẹ kí Òjọ tó ó dé
 Olu HTS PH go before Ojo equal INF come
 "Olu had left before Ojo's arrival"

(ii) PROGRESSIVE AND PHASE

Ó ti n lẹ kí á tó ó dé
 He PH PROG before we equal INF come
 "He was leaving when we arrived"

(iii) HABITUAL AND PHASE

Ó ti máa n lq kí á tó ó dé
 He PH HAB go before we equal INF come
 "He usually leaves before our arrival"

3.7. Summary

In this chapter, we have discussed some of the functions of some Yoruba Auxiliary Verbs. We examined the two main works on the High Tone Syllable (HTS). The first identifies the HTS as the non-future tense marker. The second classified the item as a Definitizer. We adduced several structural and semantic reasons why the HTS should not be assigned to any of these functions. Basing our discussion on the cross-linguistic definition of perfective, we gave evidence to show that the HTS marks this subcategory of Aspect in the language.

We then proceed to discuss the imperfective. Following Comrie (1976), we suggested two subcategories of the imperfective for the language – the Progressive and the Habitual. We discussed the source of the former and briefly noted its high frequency in both the imperative and stative constructions.

We then contested the classification of the item ti "has" either as a past tense marker or as a perfective marker. We suggested that the item should be regarded as the relational Phase marker in the language.

Notes and References to Chapter 3

1. Awobuluyi uses segmental phonemes of standard Yoruba in his examples. In this work, all examples quoted from his work would be rewritten orthographically.
2. The use of the term 'definite' here is different from the one earlier introduced by Awobuluyi (1966:260). Awobuluyi's 'definite tense' is either interpreted as past or present depending on the type of verb. Oyelaran's use of 'definite' has nothing to do with tense.
3. The effect the HTS has on the preceding noun has been given a detailed discussion by Pulleyblank (1986:118-123)**.
4. Ducrot and Todorov (1981:307) define aspect in terms of process and topic. According to them, aspect concerns "the relationships between the period that is the topic of the utterance and the one in which the process is situated". The process "is the action or the qualification expressed by the subject-predicate group" and the topic is "the period the speaker is talking about". The perfective aspect is one in which the process is internal to the period the speaker is talking about, that is, to the topic". In the imperfective, "the process is, at the very least, coextensive with the topic; ordinarily, in fact, the former encompasses the latter".
5. Situation, as used by Smith, is neutral between event, state etc. "Situation", according to her, "shows (among other things) that sentences that talk about different types of situation have consistent syntactic and semantic properties" (Smith 1986:112 n2).
6. The view that an informant may fail to give the desired information if not adequately instructed has once been expressed by Rowlands (1964:1). According to him, "when a 'Lagos' informant was recently asked by me to give an informal account (to be recorded on tape) of Yoruba naming ceremonies, he began to speak in a rather formal way, using the 'yio' future particle which is characteristic of many 'Qyq' areas. After being stopped and told that what was wanted was an informal talk in the sort of language that he would use in talking to his friends or to his wife he made no further use of the particle 'yio' but used instead the particle 'á'. The latter particle is much more widely used in speech than its limited occurrence in written Yoruba would suggest, because written Yoruba is still heavily influenced by the language of the Bible translation, which favours the use of 'yio'.
7. In the field of language acquisition, Atkinson (1983) recognizes two schools. The first "consists of people who believe that the field is best approached by working with

children. Members of this group are interested in what children say, what they can understand, what is said to them, and so on, and they see such data as vital to understanding the nature of language" (Atkinson 1983:1). The second school professes "a deep interest in child language (but does) no work at all with children. Instead, members of this group limit the application of their energies to the study of the adult language, concentrating on what has come to be known as 'the logical problem of language acquisition'" (ibid). With the identification of these two schools and as this work does not lay any claim to a systematic study of language acquisition, the observation noted here should be regarded as that of the second school, though reinforced by the fact that the present writer is a native speaker of the language. It should be noted here too that we are not unaware that experiments have shown that "in young children's growth of tense-mastery:initially they use tense form for non-tense distinctions, especially state/activity and imperfective/perfectivity" (McCoard 1978:27, n12) but, as Yoruba is a tenseless language, we doubt if there is a way this could be tested in the language.

8. Awobuluyi's remark on the sentences is that "it is this preverb, máa incidentally, which appears to be shared by both the temporal and the aspectual subsystems, that led us to the conclusion that the terms in the Yoruba temporal subsystem should perhaps be definite and indefinite rather than past, present and future" (p. 265). What is not clear here is whether maa is the same both in form and function in these sentences. See Zwicky's comments on this type of situation in (23)–(26).
9. Ó n wà ní ibè "He is usually there" is possible but according to Oke, the n form used is not a progressive marker. It is a variant of the Habitual marker. We support this claim.
10. Thrane (1983:182) defines a situation as "a delimited organization of entities between which specifiable relations hold". In this definition, a situation is taken to be language-independent. To link situations to linguistics, he introduces the terms situation-token (S-token), situation-type (S-type) and Utterance-situation (US) where S-token stands for "a situation identified or identifiable in terms of its actual occurrence in space and time", and S-type stands for "a situation identified or identifiable in terms of the relationship holding between the entities that make up the situation" and the Utterance-situation as "a particular type of actual occurrent situation, established in each case by someone making an utterance."

CHAPTER 4

THE MODAL SYSTEM

4.1. The Data

In this chapter, we examine the meanings of the Yoruba Modal Verbs.

Modality/Mood, according to Chung and Timberlake (1985:241)

characterizes the actuality of an event by comparing the event world(s) to a reference world, termed the actual world. An event can simply be actual (more precisely, the event world is identical to the actual world): an event can be hypothetically possible (the event world is not identical to the actual world): the event may be imposed by the speaker on the addressee: and so on. Whereas there is basically one way for an event to be actual, there are numerous ways that an event can be less than completely actual.

These characteristics of Modality/Mood leads Chung and Timberlake to conclude that the "internal complexity" (1985:241) of Modality/Mood is great. Because of this noted internal complexity of Modality/Mood, our discussion here will differ considerably from the previous one on Aspect and Phase and the subsequent one on Negation. In our analysis, we shall make an extensive use of a corpus data taken from Atótó Arére, a fictional narrative prose based on some social shortcomings of the Nigerian Society. The novel is written by Oladejo Okediji.

4.1.1. The use of the Corpus Data

The corpus data will be used:

- (1) (a) For exemplificatory purposes to enable us to provide an objective semantic description of the use of the modal verbs in the language.
- (b) As a model for the invented examples that we might need to exemplify some areas of meanings which are not covered in the

corpus.

4.1.2. Reasons for Taking Our Data from Atótó Arére

Our interest in using the corpus data taken from Atótó Arére stems from the fact that:

- (2) (a) The prose depicts not only real characters but also reflects real life experiences in some Nigerian cities.
- (b) The prose is also one of those few writings in Yoruba which adequately represent the standard language as described in Chapter 1. The dialectal variation is minimal and most junctural syllables are indicated.

4.2. Modal and Modality

Now that our choice for a data based analysis has been made clear, we should say something about the Modal System itself. Modality is taken in this work as a semantic label used to denote notions like possibility, permission, obligation etc. that alter in some ways the neutral semantic value of a clause or a sentence. Modals are the auxiliary verbs which denote different kinds of modality. They are used to modify declarative and factual statements. Modal meaning has to do with the speaker's attitude towards what he says or the degree of his commitment to his utterances. A modal sentence or utterance, therefore, is one in which the truth of the predication is subject to some contingency or modification. The modal verbs with which we shall be concerned are yóò "will", lè "can" and gbódò "must"¹.

4.2.1. Some Comments on ní láti-

4.2.1.1. Introduction

It has been suggested that the so-called periphrastic item ní láti- "have to" is a modal verb (Oyelaran 1982a:17) and that the item is a stylistic variant of gbọ́dọ́ "must" (Welmers 1973:341-342)**. In what follows, we shall take a critical look at these two suggestions and show, first, that the differences in meaning between the so-called periphrastic ní láti- "have to" and gbọ́dọ́ "must" are considerable and, second, that the so-called periphrastic item is not a modal verb.

4.2.1.2. The Periphrastic ní láti-

Welmers quotes Elimelech (in a footnote) as saying that while "elderly people, whose contact with English has been minimal" use gbọ́dọ́ "must", other Yoruba speakers use ní láti "have to". What we understand from Elimelech's claim is that both gbọ́dọ́ "must" and ní láti- "have to" have the same semantic interpretation. The only difference between the two items being that ní láti- "have to", in addition to the basic meaning it shares with gbọ́dọ́ "must" also reflects a quantity of formal education which the speaker/writer wants to show. To test Elimelech's claim, we examine the use of the item ní láti- "have to" in Atótó Arére. As a data taken from a prose narrative written by someone whose contact with English is considerable, one would expect ní láti "have to" to occur more than gbọ́dọ́ "must". What we find is the contrary, as shown below:

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Sample</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>ní láti</u> "have to" & <u>gbọ́dọ́</u> "must"	117		100
<u>gbọ́dọ́</u> "must"	92		79
<u>ní láti</u> "have to"	25		21

In addition, we note that whereas gbọ́dọ́ "must" signals the commitment of the

speaker to the truth of the proposition in which it occurs, the so-called periphrastic item signals absence of commitment by the speaker. At best, following Palmer (1983:209), the so-called periphrastic item can only be regarded as a semi-modal. Even then, Palmer clearly distinguishes between a modal and a semi-modal. The former is used in the modal component to lay an obligation and to give permission while the latter is used in a proposition to state that an obligation exists or that something is possible. Thus, whereas the VP gbọ́dọ́ ẹ́ "required/obliged to do it" in (3) (a) expresses the speaker's commitment to the necessity or possibility, ní látí- "have to" occurs in a categorical statement to indicate that something is necessary or possible.

- (3) (a) Ó gbọ́dọ́ ẹ́ "He is required/obliged to do it"
 (b) Ó ní látí ẹ́ "It is necessary/possible that
 he does it"

Witness that both ní látí- "have to" and gbọ́dọ́ "must" occur in the same frame in (3). The importance of this is that any difference in meaning between the two sentences is taken as the difference between the meaning contributed by each of the two items to the sentence in which it occurs.

Using the same process of substitution, we also note that the meaning negation adds to gbọ́dọ́ "must" is quite different from that of ní látí- "have to". Negation with gbọ́dọ́ "must" always bears on the semantic content of the proposition over which the item is predicated. The meaning of gbọ́dọ́ "must" itself is not altered. This means that kò gbọ́dọ́ lẹ́ is an "obligation not to go", hence a "prohibition to go". It also negates the existence of a permission for, if one "is forbidden to go" one is at the same time "not permitted to go". The negative of ní látí-lẹ́ is, on the other hand, not found in the areas of "obligation not to go" rather, it expresses "absence of necessity to go".

It may be argued that ní látí-VP is needed to negate the modality of gbọ́dọ́ VP just as "need" is used to negate "must" in English (Palmer 1979:26). Even if this is the case, the fact still remains that "need" is not regarded as one of the basic modals.

Other Examples

Some of the examples used by Binnick (1971) to distinguish between "will" and "be going to" can also be used to distinguish ní látí "have to" from gbọ́dọ́ "must". Consider (4):

- (4) (a) Mo fún aláìsàn ní oògùn, ọ gbọ́dọ́ wò ọ sà
 I give patient person in medicine, it must cure him
 "I gave the medicine to the patient, it must cure him"
- (b) Mo fún aláìsàn ní oògùn, ọ ní látí-wò ọ sà
 I give sick person in medicine, it has in to cure him
 "I gave the medicine to the sick, it should cure him"

Though (4) (a) and (b) communicate what could be regarded as causal relationship, the implicational "if's" and "but's" noted in (a) are absent in (b). In (a), the actuality of the assertion is assumed and the sentence implies a certainty or a promise.

Also in relative clauses, both ní látí- "have to" and gbọ́dọ́ "must" have different referential possibilities. Consider (5) (a) and (b):

- (5) (a) Aşọ tí ọ gbọ́dọ́ wọ, ọ wá a lẹ
 garment that he must wear, he look it go
 "He has gone to look for the garment he must wear"
- (b) Aşọ tí ọ ní látí-wọ, ọ wá a lẹ
 garment that he has to wear, he look it go
 "He has gone to look for the garment he has to wear"

Whereas gbọ́dọ́ "must" is referentially indefinite in the relative clause, ní látí-

"have to" is referentially specific. In (b), reference is being made to a specific garment whereas the reference in (a) is not specific. What is being said in (5) (a) is that it is compulsory that he wears a garment. As shown in (6), an attempt to make ní látí- "have to" indefinite leads to an unacceptable or a questionable sentence.

- (6) (a) Aşq tí ó gbòdò wò, ó wá a kò rí èyí tí ó wù ú
 garment that he must wear, he look it neg he see one
 that he like it
 "He went in search of the garment he must wear but
 he didn't find the one he liked"
- (b) ?/*Aşq tí ó ní látí-wò, ó wá a kò rí èyí tí ó wù ú
 Cloth that he has to wear, he look it NEG see one
 that he like it
 "He went in search of the garment he has to wear but
 he didn't find the one he liked"

The above examples have shown that the differences between gbòdò "must" and ní látí- "have to" are considerable.

4.2.1.3. A look at ni látí-VP

On the other hand, if one takes a look at ní látí- and the following VP, one may be able to make some suggestions as regards the true status of the item. The composition of ní látí- is quite different from the modals. The item is made up of three elements - (i) a verb ní "have", (ii) a preposition ní "in" and (iii) a nominalizing prefix àti (see Fagborun 1985:14 n.3 and Yusuf 1986). The verb ní "have" has a great deal in common with such verbs as fé "want", tó "enough" and şòro "difficult". This class of verbs is categorised by Awoyale (1974:12-13)** as factive verbs which often take "infinitive without overt complementizers".

For example, if we take the VP şe işé "do work", the prefix àti can be used to nominalize the VP to become àti-şe-işé "manner/fact of doing work". This

nominal, like all nominals in the language, can in turn be preceded by the preposition *ní* "in" as in *ní àti-še-işé* "in the manner/fact of doing work". Yusuf (1985:333)** posits that this *ní* "in" is "empty of any semantic content. Any meaning attributed to it is nothing inherent but derives from our knowledge of the NPs that follow it". This PP or "*ní*-NP construction" (to use Yusuf's terms) can serve as object to the class of factive verbs mentioned above. Hence we can have (7).

- (7) (i) *Ó ní ní àti-še-işé* (i.e. *Ó ní látí-şişé*)
 He has in the manner/fact of working
 "He has to work"
- (ii) *Ó fẹ ní àti-še-işé* (i.e. *Ó fẹ látí-şişé*)
 He want in the manner/fact of working
 "He wants to work"

The two sentences are relativized in the same manner. Examples:

- (8) (i) *Işé tí ó ní ní àti-še* (i.e. *Işé tó ní látí-še*)
 Work REL he has in manner/fact do
 "The work he has to do"
- (ii) *Işé tí ó fẹ ní àti-še* (i.e. *Işé tó fẹ látí-še*)
 Work REL he want in manner/fact do
 "The work he wants to do"

They are also negated in the same way.

- (9) (i) *Kò ní ní àti-še-işé* (*Kò ní látí-şişé*)
 NEG has work in manner/fact do work
 "He is not duty bound to do the work"
- (ii) *Kò fẹ ní àti-še-işé* (*Kò fẹ látí-şişé*)
 NEG want in manner/fact do work
 "He does not want to work"

It will be noted that it is the factive verbs that are being negated in (9) (i) and (ii).

4.2.1.4. A Previous Analysis of ní lati

Abraham (1958:438(7b))** classifies ní "have" as verb but translates the combination of ní lati as "must". His example:

- (10) Mo ní lati lọ
"I must go"

Thus, it seems, from Abraham's classification, that when ní "have" precedes lati, it ceases to be a verb. Abraham also classifies fé "want" as verb which it remains when it combines with lati-. His example:

- (11) Ó fé lati lọ
"He wants to go"
(Abraham 1958:207(B.b1))**

What is not clear to us is why Abraham gives different analyses to fé lati and ní lati when, as we have shown above, they have a great deal in common. It may well be the case that Abraham is of the opinion that the first ní "have" in ní lati- has developed away from the lexical verb ní "have" and that the construction ní lati- now behaves like a modal verb. This argument is possible because it looks as if the reading given to ní "have" when it precedes ní àti- is quite distinct from the one given to it in such sentences as Mo ní owó "I have got some money". But ní "have" owes its different readings in ní owó "have money" and ní lati- to the different lexical contexts in these two sentences showing that an argument along this line is not tenable. Hermeren (1978:70-71) has warned that the meaning of a given item should not be confused "with the meaning of the units surrounding it. In such a description one would have to assign ... (to an item) as many meanings as there are contexts in which it occurs" (our bracket).

Note that the meanings of fé "want" in fé iyàwó "got married", fé Olú

"loves/likes Olu" and Mo ní fẹ́ owó "I need some/lot of money" are quite different from that of fẹ́ "want" in the examples in (8), (9) and (11) yet fẹ́ "want" is treated as the same verb in all the constructions. This means that Abraham gives fẹ́ "want" what Haegeman (1983:8-9) calls a unified treatment whereby the basic meaning of fẹ́ "want" is taken to be comprehensive, other meanings being derived from it. In the same manner we suggest that ní "have" should also be given a unified treatment whereby all the derived meanings i.e.

to have, to occupy, to obtain, to possess,
to get, to load (as a ship or canoe) etc.
(CMS 1913:162)**

come from a single comprehensive meaning. While the semantic interpretation of ní "have" as in:

- (12) Mo ní ilé
I have house
"I have a house"

can be regarded as being at one end of a continuum, ní "have" in ní láti can be taken as being at the other end.

4.2.1.5. Conclusion

In conclusion, we suggest that ní láti- is not a stylistic variant of gbọ́dọ́ "must". Rather, ní láti-VP is a paraphrase of gbọ́dọ́ VP. Their relationship can be compared with that between pọ́n dandan "compulsory" and gbọ́dọ́ "must". For example, Ó gbọ́dọ́ lọ "He must go" can be paraphrased as either (13) or (14):

- (13) Ó pọ́n dandan kí ó lọ
He compulsory that he go
"It is compulsory that he goes"

- (14) Ó ní láti-lọ
 He has in manner/fact go
 "He has to go"

That gbọdọ "must" can be so paraphrased does not mean that the two paraphrastic items are its stylistic variants. Hermeren (1978:82-84) clearly distinguishes between a stylistic variant and a paraphrase. In her opinion, "When we say that one sentence is a paraphrase of another sentence with a modal, that does not necessarily mean that both sentences can be used with identical stylistical implications". Two of the examples she gives are:

- (15) May your cabbages wither away!
 (16) I hope your cabbages will wither away

Her comments on these two sentences are that (16) lacks the type of an invocation of supernatural power noted in (15) hence, their relationship is just that of a partial synonymy between the modal and the paraphrase. This is the type of relationship also noted between gbọdọ VP and ní láti-VP.

"Will" and "Shall" are examples of two items, given by Perkins (1982:264), which are contextually determined formal variants. His reason for classifying them as variants is because they both realize a common core meaning. Examples of items that can also be classified as variants in Yoruba are discussed in Chapter 7 of this work. As both ní láti- and gbọdọ do not share the same core meaning, we conclude that they are distinct items which should not be classified as variants. If this is accepted, then we see no other basis for arguing the modality of ní láti-.

4.2.2. Reasons Why We Regard yóò "will" a Modal Verb

Yóò "will" is also a very controversial item. Most Yoruba grammarians have adopted without question the suggestion made by Crowther over a hundred

years ago that yóò "will" marks the future time in the language. The status of yóò "will" as a future tense marker has since been questioned by Oyelaran (1982a). Oyelaran's ideas are important. They lead us to question further the bases on which the item yóò "will" is established as a future tense marker in the language. Though we are not denying that the item can occur in sentences which have future reference, all times are possible:

- (17) (a) Olú yóò lq lánàá
 Olu will go yesterday
 "Olu would have left yesterday"
- (b) Èmi yóò lq lónìí
 I will go today
 "I will leave today"
- (c) Ìwq yóò lq lóla
 You will go tomorrow
 "You will leave tomorrow"

So, that the Yoruba yóò is translated into English "will" is not sufficient evidence for calling yóò a future tense marker. Even in English, studies have shown that the use of "will" does not necessarily indicate future tense. The point is that the future, being uncertain, tends to be referred to by various kinds of "uncertain items" in different languages. Yoruba, having a tendency to develop the modal system, has made use of part of that system for one of its means of talking about the future. Note that in certain circumstances, especially with some motion verbs, the progressive can also be used in sentences which have future reference as in:

- (18) (a) Mo ñ lq lóla
 I PROG go tomorrow
 "I am going tomorrow"

- (b) Ớ n bộ lấi pế
 He PROG come not long
 "He is coming soon"

Note too that in dependent clauses introduced by conditional and temporal conjunction tí "if", yóò "will" cannot be used to indicate the future:

- (19) Tí Olú bá rà, mo lè rà
 "If Olu buys, I may buy"

This is not to say that yóò "will" cannot occur in dependent clauses but when it does, it is given a volitional reading:

- (20) Tí Olú yóò bá rà, mo lè rà
 If Olu will buy, I may buy
 "If Olu is willing to buy, I may buy"

Yóò also often has strong volitional implications even when relating to future tense. For example, Yóò kàn jókòó síbè sá láise nnekankan "He will just sit there doing nothing" expresses a characteristic habitual activity which is not restricted to the future time. Similarly, Gbòngàn yèn yóò gbà tó èniyàn mewaá "That hall will sit ten people" expresses general capacity.

More importantly, because all modal verbs allow "forward shifts in time in the verb phrase" (Rigter 1986:370) that follows them, they can occur in sentences with future reference e.g.

- (21) (a) Olú yóò wá lóla
 "Olu will come tomorrow"
- (b) Olú gbòdò wá lóla
 "Olu must come tomorrow"
- (c) Olú lè wá lóla
 "Olu may come tomorrow"

In these three sentences, the subjects are related to the predicates in the same way. They differ only through what Ducrot and Todorov (1981:313) call the modus which is "an attitude on the part of the speaking subject to the content ... of an utterance". Hence, we believe that Yóò should not be separated from the rest and designated as tense marker. For, according to Chung and Timberlake (1985:243),

"Any future event is potential rather than actual, and there are more degrees of possibility depending to some extent on the speaker's (or source's) convictions: a future event may be evaluated as relatively certain, merely possible, conceivable or unlikely, and so on".

Because of the characteristics of yóò mentioned above, we include it among the modal verbs to be discussed in this work.

We have not come across any systematic analysis of the Yoruba modal verbs. So, unlike in the preceding chapters where previous studies are first reviewed, we shall go straight into the treatment of the semantics of these items. In our analysis, we shall try to follow Coates (1983) which is one of the most recent corpus based treatments of modality. Coates' approach has proved fruitful in the study of English language. In the rest of this chapter, we shall extend this approach to Yoruba thereby giving the approach further support. We begin our discussion with the modal meanings of yóò "will". The pages of the example quoted from the narrative text are put in curly brackets i.e. "{ }".

4.3. The Modal Meanings of yóò "will"

4.3.1. Predictability

This gives the sense "I confidently predict that it is the case that p ..." (Coates 1983:175)². It indicates an assumption made by the speaker concerning the prevailing state of affairs. The following examples illustrate this meaning.

- (22) (a) X Ẹ wá kílò fún ọmọdẹ yíí ọ {p. 13}
 You (pl.) come warn child this
 "Come and help me warn this boy"
- (b) Y Kí ló wí rí? {p. 13}
 That FOC he say?
 "What has he said?"
- (c) X Mo ti mọ pé ẹyìn rẹ lẹ ọ pọ̀n sí {p. 13}
 I have know say back his FOC you(pl.) will
 slung in
 "I know you will support him"
- (23) Jèéní yóò ti retí, retí, yóò ti wọlé lẹ sùn {p. 83}
 Jane will have expect, expect, will have enter house
 go sleep
 "Jane would have waited and would have gone to sleep"

In (22) (a), speaker X reports a boy to Y and in (22) (b), Y asks a question but instead of answering the question, X says with confidence in (22) (c) that she knows that Y will support the boy. X's confidence here is based on the previous behaviour of Y i.e. her own experience. X must have supported the boy more than once. In (23), the speaker's confidence is based on common sense. In his opinion, Jane would have waited in expectation for hours and would have gone to sleep. It will be noted that both examples have third person subjects. This is one of the features of "predictability" use of yóò "will". Another important feature is that the main predication is always either in the present or in the past. While the main predication in (22) is in the present, the predication in (23) is about a past event.

4.3.1.1. Harmonic Combination

The harmonic clause, Mo ti mọ pé "I have known that" in X's statement in (22) is used to show that he is making a confident statement about what she knows of Y from experience. It would be inconsistent for X to add the clause, ṣùgbón kò dá mi lójú "but I am not sure" because the statement excludes the

possibility of the speaker not knowing that Y will support the boy. The use of the harmonic adverbials is also often crucial, just as in French and German (Ladd (personal communication)), for distinguishing the "predictability" sense from "prediction" sense. For example, while Yóò ti dé báyyí "He will have arrived now" is "predictability", Yóò ti dé níwòyí òla "He will have arrived by this time of tomorrow" is "prediction".

4.3.1.2. Syntactic Cooccurrence

"Predictability" yóò "will" freely cooccurs with stative verbs. An example of this is (23). In (24), two points should be noted. First, the main predication refers to time prior to the moment of speaking which extends to the moment of speaking and second, the occurrence of the phase marker in the environment of the progressive is obligatory in this type of construction. Without the phase marker, (24) would be given a "prediction" reading.

- (24) nígbà tí wọn bá bá òkú ọdẹ ... [à]wọn ọlọpàá ...
when that they meet dead hunter ... they police ...

á ti máa sá sókè sá sódò {p. 143}
will PH PROG run up and down

"After seeing the dead hunter ... the police ... would
have started running hither and thither"

4.3.2. Prediction

This can be paraphrased as "I predict that ..." and the prediction is always in the future (Coates 1983:177). Example:

- (25) Qwọ ọ tẹ gbogbo yín {p. 9}
Hand will catch all you
"You (pl.) will all be captured"

The "prediction" use of yóò "will" refers either to a definite or an indefinite time in the future and occurs freely with an inanimate subject.

4.3.3. Volition

This can be paraphrased by "willing, want or intention". Its predication refers to a single future event. Examples:

- (26) (a) $\text{Şe' o ó yá mi lówó ni?}$ {p. 29}
 Q you will lend me in money FOC?
 "Are you willing to lend me some money?"
- (b) $\text{N ó bá ọ sọ̀nà owó}$ {p. 29}
 I will () you will find way money
 "I am willing to help you find some means
 of getting some money"

The volitional use of yóò "will" is incompatible with an inanimate subject and a phase marker, thus, (N ó ti yá ọ lówó "I will have lent you some money") has a "predictability" meaning.

4.3.4. Omnitemporal

Lyons (1977:680), defines omnitemporal as follows:

An omnitemporal proposition, ... is one that says that something has been, is and always will be so : it is a proposition whose truth-value is constant for all values of t_i , in a finite or infinite set of time-points or time-intervals, $\{t_1, t_2, t_3, \dots t_n\}$.

Haegeman (1983:43) then classifies the over-all meaning of omnitemporality into (i) inference (timeless truth), (ii) habit and (iii) disposition (capacity). The major difference between the three is that the time-span of inference cover all time while the other two are "restricted to (part of) the life-time of their specific subject referents" (Haegeman 1983:76). Other differences noted are as follow:

4.3.4.1. Inference

This is the use of yóò "will" for "timeless truth" which according to Palmer (1980:112) may be proved inductively. Example:

- (27) Omi ni yóò se ẹja jíná {p. 3}
 Water FOC will do fish well-cook
 "Fish will get cooked in water"

Simply put, despite the fact that the fish lives in water, we still need the same water to cook it. The following characteristics are noted: (i) the subject is generic and (ii) any occurrence of either the progressive or the phase marker or a future time adverbial narrows down the time-sphere.

4.3.4.2. Habitual

This indicates what Palmer (1980:112.) regards as a characteristic activity.

Example:

- (28) Eni tí yóò ti ilé-ìwé dé, tí yóò tún padà lẹ pọnmí
 He that will from school come, that will again back go

 tí yóò gbálẹ, tí yóò fọsọ {p. 20}
 fetch water, that will sweep, that will wash clothes

 "He will return from school, fetch water, sweep the floor
 and wash clothes"

Characteristics: It always has a specific animate subject and the occurrence of the progressive or phase marker or a future time adverbial narrows down the time-sphere.

4.3.4.3. Disposition

This expresses general capacity. Example:

- (29) Gbọngàn yẹn yóò gbà tó èniyàn mẹwáá
 Hall that will take equal people ten
 "That hall will take ten people"

Characteristics: It cooccurs with only non-animate specific subjects. The occurrence of either the progressive or phase marker or future time adverbial also narrows down its time-sphere.

4.4. The Modal Meanings of lè "can"

4.4.1. Possibility

This has the sense "it is possible that ..." or to use Chung and Timberlake's (1985:242) terms – "there is at least one world one could imagine in which ...". Following Coates (1983:131), we note the following examples which show the syntactic and semantic cooccurrences of lè "can", the range of time reference possible in its use and its hedging quality.

4.4.1.1. Possible Time Reference

Main Predication refers to time prior to the moment of speaking

- (30) Bí mo bá mọ pé wọn lè pa ọ ni, n bá jẹwọ {P.10}
 If I know that they may kill you FOC I would
 confess
 "If I had known that you could be executed, I would
 have confessed"

Main Predication refers to time prior to the moment of speaking which extends up to the moment of speaking

- (31) O sì lè máa rò pé oró tí o dá mi ni èmi ná
 dá ọ san {p. 10}
 You may continue think that suffer which you
 suffer me before FOC I revenge
 "You may now be thinking that I am avenging
 the wrong I suffered from you"

Main Predication refers to time subsequent to the moment of speaking

- (32) Ìwọ náà ò tún ní sẹ́nǹì kankan tí o lè gbà
lọ́dọ̀ ìyá ẹlẹ́pà {p. 53}
You that NEG have change any that you can
get in place groundnut seller
"You do not have any other money to collect
again from the groundnut seller"

4.4.1.2. Concessive Use

"Possibility" lè "can" can occur in a subordinate clause "expressing a state or condition in spite of which the truth or validity of the main clause holds good" (Hartmann and Stork 1972:47).

- (33) Ẹ̀kẹ̀kẹ̀kan lo ó máa rí mi nílẹ̀ o
Once in while FOC you will continue see me in house

şùgbọ́n ìwọ lè máa wọlé,
but you may continue enter house,

kí o máa jáde bí ó bá ti wù ọ {p. 55}
COMP you continue go out as you like you

"Although you will seldom see me at home, you can
enter and leave the house as you like"

4.4.1.3. Hedging Quality

Hedging quality is defined by Coates (1983:134) as the way "the speaker avoids committing himself to the truth of the proposition" e.g.

- (34) Ní ìrọ́lẹ̀ wọ́n lè lọ gbá bọ́ọ̀lù (wọ́n sì lè má lọ) {p. 37}
In evening they may go play ball (they may even not go
"In the evening, they may go out to play football
(or they may not go)

In (34), the speaker is not sure whether the boys do go out to play football in the evening or not.

4.4.1.4. Syntactic Cooccurrence

Lè "can", in its possibility use, cooccurs freely with the following syntactic and semantic features.

Phase Marker

- (35) Ó rí wọn mú ju bí òun ganan ti lè lálàá tẹlẹ lẹ {p. 15}
 He see them take than as he himself have may dream
 before go
 "He caught them unaware more than he could even have
 expected"

Stative Verbs

- (36) Ó lè wà nílẹ, ó sì lè má sí nílẹ {p. 60}
 He may be in home, he even may not be in home
 "He may be at home or he may not be at home"

Progressive Aspect

- (37) Wọn ... lè máa wá inú bǎnkì kiri bóyá àwọn
 ó rí ohun tí àwọn wá wá ganan {p. 137}
 They may PROG search inside bank around
 whether they will find thing that they
 come look itself
 "They may be searching the bank whether they
 will be able to find what they have come to
 look for"

4.4.1.5. Harmonic Combination

Lè "can" is found in conjunction with some modally harmonic adverbs and some phrases which have hedging quality. In the following example, adverbs and phrases with hedging quality are underlined:

- (38) (a) Bóyá òun tilẹ lè bèèrè lẹwọ rẹ pé ibo
 ni baba Òdiẹwù wà {p. 58}.
 Perhaps he may ask in hand his that
 where FOC father Odiewu is
 "Perhaps he may be able to find out from him where
 Odiewu is"

- (b) Bóyá o lè fẹ́ fẹ́hìn lélẹ́ díẹ̀ ná kí ounjẹ
 tó yọrí {p. 158}
 Perhaps you may want lie back on ground small
 before food ready
 "Perhaps you may want to rest a bit before
 the food is ready"
- (c) Ó ti n rọ̀ pé oun lè rí ẹni tí yóò gbà kí
 oşù parí {p. 160}
 He has PROG think that he may see person who
 will allow that month end
 "He has been thinking that he may see someone
 who will allow him to stay till the end of the
 month (before paying)"
- (d) A kì í mọ̀, o lè mọ̀ ibi tí mo kó owó
 kan sí {p. 170}
 We NEG know, you may place where I have money
 one
 "I wouldn't know, you may know where I kept
 some money"

4.4.2. Ability

This can be paraphrased as "is able to ..., is capable of ...". It can either be a physical or learnt ability (Asher 1982:169-171) or a mental ability (Hermeren 1978:102). Examples:

- (39) Wọ̀n lè jó ju kòkòrò lọ {p. 37}
 They can dance more insect go
 "They can dance more than an insect"
- (40) Ó n fọ́jú sí ìwé kíkà díẹ́díẹ́, kí ó lè sọ Gèésì {p. 59}
 He PROG put eye into book reading small, COMP he can
 speak English
 "He is taking some time off to study so as to be able
 to speak English"
- (41) Omi gbígbóná ti dàpọ̀ mọ̀ tútù, àfi Ọlórún ló lè yanjú
 rẹ̀ {p. 194}
 Water hot has mixed with cold, only God alone FOC he can
 settle it
 "Both warm and cold water have mixed together, only God
 is capable to separate them"

The following characteristics noted by Coates (1983:89) also apply to the three examples: (i) the subject is animate and has agentive function; (ii) the verb denotes action/activity; (iii) the possibility of the action is determined by inherent properties of the subject (including what the subject has learnt).

4.4.3. Permission

This has the sense "you are allowed to" or "you are permitted to". This use of lè "can" signals a permission given by the speaker or a general permission irrespective of who does the permitting. The following are some examples from the corpus:

- (42) bó ò bá fẹ jẹun ní tìrẹ ... o lè dídẹ {p. 32}
 If NEG want eat in you ... you can stand
 "If you do not want to eat ... you can stand (and leave)"
- (43) O lè maa wá gbé lóḍḍè mi {p. 55}
 You can come live in place me
 "You may/can come and live at my place"

The following characteristics are also true of these examples: they have (i) animate subject and (ii) agentive verbs (Coates 1983:87).

4.4.3.1. Harmonic Combination

The harmonic clause bó o bá fẹ "If you do not like" shows that any permission granted by the use of lè is neutral in terms of the speaker's wishes. It is left entirely to the addressee to decide if he wishes to carry out the action.

4.4.3.2. Syntactic Cooccurrence

"Permission" lè "can" does not cooccur with an inanimate subject or a phase marker, hence the following are not acceptable:

- (44) *Òjò ó lè rẹ
 Rain HTS may fall
 "There may be rain"

- (45) *Òjò ń ti lẹ rẹ
 Rain HTS PH may fall
 "It might have rained"

4.5. The Modal Meanings of gbodo "must"

4.5.1. Necessity

This has the sense "the only possible conclusion from the evidence available is that ..." or to use Chung and Timberlake's (1985:242) terms "in all alternative worlds that one could imagine at this time, x is" Examples:

- (46) Lẹ̀sì tó wẹ sọ̀rùn ti kóbò, ojú rẹ ti gbọ̀dọ́ rí nńkan {p. 5}
 Lace that he wear in neck has fade, eye his has must see something
 "The lace garment he is wearing has faded, he must have suffered"
- (47) Ó sà ní oye ènìyàn tí òun ganan ti fọwọ́ ara òun pa
 It (41) have number people that he even have use hand body his kill
 Bi ko ba to ogun, yoo fere to bee. O tile gbodo ju bee lo {p. 222}
 If not up to twenty, it will almost up to that. It must even be more
 "At least he has also killed a number of people, if the number of those killed by him is not up to twenty, it will be nearing that In fact, they must be more."

In (46), the speaker's confidence is overtly expressed and the reason for his confidence is given (the condition of the lace garment). In (47), the speaker starts with an unsubstantiated assertion yóò fẹ̀rẹ̀ "they will" but replaces this with a substantiated one gbọ̀dọ́ jù bẹ̀ẹ̀ "must be more". The harmonic modifying verb tilẹ̀ "even" overtly expresses the speaker's confidence. It is a fact that the "necessity" use of gbọ̀dọ́ "must" applies to state and activity either in the past or in the present but this does not mean that the item cannot be used to indicate the speaker's confidence in a future state or activity. Example:

- (48) Ẹ ớ mọ pé ìyàtọ gbọdọ wà {p. 14}
 You (pl.) will know say difference must be
 "You will know that there must be some changes"

In (48), the main predication refers to the future. the harmonic phrase Ẹ ớ mọ pé "You will know that" also indicates that the statement is subjective. (49), on the other hand, is an objective use of gbọdọ "must" based on pure logical necessity without any element of speaker-involvement.

- (49) Ớ pé ni, ớ yá ni, ọmọọsẹ gbọdọ yáşẹ lọdọ ọgá {p. 75}
 It late FOC, it early FOC, apprentice must separate
 work in place master
 "Sooner or later, an apprentice must complete his
 period of apprenticeship and start practising his
 craft"

4.5.1.1. Syntactic Cooccurrence

Phase Marker: In (46), the phase marker precedes gbọdọ "must" but as shown in (50), the phase marker can follow gbọdọ "must". Gbọdọ "must", while occurring with the phase marker, can refer to a past state or activity stretching up to the moment of speaking as in (46), or it may refer to a future state or activity contemplated from the present as in (50)

- (50) Kí ớ tóó dé, ọwó àwọn gbọdọ ti búřẹkẹ
 COMP he before come, money their must grow
 considerably
 "Before he comes back, their money must
 have increased considerably"

Stative: See examples (46) and (49).

Progressive Aspect: There is no example of a progressive aspect alone cooccurring with gbọdọ "must" in the text. The one we invented (shown in (51)) includes the occurrence of the phase marker and the sentence is given a reading in which the time he starts going precedes the time of speaking:

- (51) Ó ti gbòdò máa lẹ ó lẹwó
 He PH must PROG grind it in hand
 "He must have started grinding it"

4.5.1.2. Harmonic Combination

(48) and (49) are examples where gbòdò "must" expresses the same degree of modality with the harmonic clauses È ó mò pé "You will know that" and Ó pé ni ó yá ni "Sooner or later" respectively. In such cases, the harmonic forms are said to be mutually reinforcing" (Coates 1983:77). There are no examples of phrases with hedging quality cooccurring with gbòdò "must" in the text but an example of these can be invented:

- (52) Mo lérò pé ó gbòdò ti dé
 I think say he must have come
 "I think he must have come"

(52) is subjective in that it shows the speaker's attitude to the proposition in the main predicate.

4.5.2. Obligation or Compulsion

The use of gbòdò "must" here involves the authority of the speaker. It is the speaker who states that an event must hold "in all subsequent worlds" (Chung and Timberlake 1985:246). Example:

- (53) È gbòdò sẹ náírà méjì kù {p. 43}
 You (pl.) must break naira two left
 "You must leave a two naira balance"

In (53), the speaker is the person in authority telling the addressee that they are obliged to leave a two naira balance. There are cases where the speaker exerts power over himself. Leech (1981:72) refers to such cases as self-compulsion in which some power is exerted on oneself through "a sense of duty, through self discipline, or merely through a sense of expediency". The

following are examples:

- (54) Òní tí o wọlé mi yí, mo gbọ́dọ̀ wẹ ẹ́ ní
 Today that you enter house me, I must wash it
 "Today that you enter my house, I must
 celebrate it"
- (55) Mo gbọ́dọ̀ dé ilé Miloníà kí n kí wọ́n níbẹ̀
 I must reach house Millionaire let I greet
 them there
 "I must go to Millionaire's house to say hello
 to them there"

In (54) and (55), the reasons for the self imposed compulsion are explicitly stated. The use of gbọ́dọ̀ "must" for an obligation also has the following characteristics: (i) the subject is normally animate and (ii) It also excludes the occurrence of the phase marker.

4.6. Relations between the Modal Verbs

Both philosophers and linguists have recognized two distinct kinds of meaning associated with the modals. The names most commonly used are "epistemic" and "deontic/root". As stated earlier, Chung and Timberlake (1985:242) define epistemic modality in terms of actual world and the alternative worlds. According to them, the "epistemic mode characterizes the event with respect to the actual world and its possible alternatives. If the event belongs to the actual world, it is actual, if it belongs to some alternative world (although not necessarily to the actual world), it is possible; and so on". They also define the deontic/root as characterizing "an event as non-actual by virtue of the fact that it is imposed on a given situation. Given the actual world at any point in time, there are a number of worlds that could conceivably develop out of that world. The deontic/(root) ... restricts these subsequent worlds with respect to an event, such that the event has to belong to some or all of the subsequent worlds (Chung and Timberlake 1985:246). For example, Ó gbọ́dọ̀ ní ìyàwó can

mean:

- (56) I (confidently) infer that he is married
 (57) He is obliged to be married

The first meaning is called the epistemic while the second is called the deontic/root (Lyons 1977:791). It will be noted that the relationship between the deontic/root and epistemic meanings of a given modal is non-arbitrary. For example, the same modal used to convey a deontic/root meaning under "permission" is used to convey epistemic meaning under "obligation".

In addition, both deontic/root and epistemic modality can be given either a subjective or an objective interpretation. While a subjective modalized utterance is a statement of opinion, an objectively modalized utterance contains "an unqualified or categorical, I-say-so component" (Lyons 1977:799). In an objectively modalized utterance, the speaker is committed to the factuality of the information. For example, Ẹ gbọdọ lẹ "You must go" can be given an objective interpretation meaning that the addressee is expected to go because this is what everybody does. What the speaker says to be the cause of an objective modalized utterance can be denied or questioned, accepted or referred to by the complement of a factive predication (Lyons 1977:799 and Velupillai 1983:86). The following are examples:

- (58) Ẹ gbọdọ lẹ
 You (pl) must go
 "You must go" Irọ ni "That is not true"
 Lóóótọ? "Is that true?"
 N ò gbà "I don't agree"
 Mo gbọ "I agree"
 Mò mọ "I know"

If the above utterance is given a subjective interpretation, it means that the speaker is subjectively qualifying his commitment to the possibility of the

addressee going to the said place. An appropriate clause Mo rò pé "I think that" can be added to the utterance to show the speaker's commitment. Subjectively modalized statements are not statements of facts hence in reporting (58), what we have is:

- (59) Ó ní òun rò pé a gbóddò lq
 He say he think say we must go
 "He says he thinks we must go"

To report the objectively modalized version of (58), what we have is:

- (60) Ó ní a gbóddò lq
 He say we must go
 "He says we must go"

Given the parallelism just mentioned, it is appropriate to comment on the differences between the two modal meanings. Two of the differences between deontic and epistemic modalities noted by Lyons (1977:823–825) are "that there is an intrinsic connexion between deontic modality and futurity" and that "deontic necessity typically proceeds, or derives, from some source or cause". Another major difference is that while a deontic modal normally excludes the presence of the phase marker, the epistemic modal goes well with it. Examples:

- (61) Permission: *Ó ti lè lq şiré ní ìta
 (62) Possibility: Ó ti lè lq şiré ní ìta
 "He may have gone out to play"

4.7. Modal Combination

It is possible to combine either gbóddò "must" yóò "will" with lè "can". When this happens, lè "can" always follows the other modals. Examples:

- (63) (a) Ó gbóddò lè şe é
 He must can do it
 "He must be able to do it"

- (b) N ó lè se é
 I will can do it
 "I will be able to do it"

When modals occur together, they are said to be mutually reinforcing in significance. Both yóò "will" and gbódò "must" cannot occur together.

4.8. Summary

In this chapter, we have made a straightforward presentation of a classification of the Yoruba Modal Verbs using the approach proposed by Coates (1983) for treating the semantics of modality. Examples are taken from a narrative text to avoid, as much as we can, a subjective interpretation of modal syntax and semantics.

4.9. Notes and References to Chapter 4

1. The English glosses given for the modal verbs here are not quite accurate because, according to Afolayan (1968:350)**, "there is a many-one relationship between the modal forms in English and those in Yoruba; for example can, could, may and might are matched by Yoruba lè". Despite this many-one relationship, we shall use the glosses given to these three modal verbs here all through this work.
2. The terms "meaning", "use" and "sense" will be used in the rest of the chapter with the three having almost the same meaning.

CHAPTER 5

SOME ASPECTS OF NEGATION IN YORUBA

5.1. Introduction

Negation has also been recognized as another complex phenomenon in linguistic analysis. In his work on raising in English, Postal (1974:239) notes that "the facts of negativity are everywhere extremely complicated and poorly understood". What applies to negation in English, to a great extent, also applies to negation in Yoruba. One of the devices used in the language "in order to effect standard negation" is the negative verb (Payne 1978:52). As stated in Chapter 2, the negative verb and its variants belong to the auxiliary subclass of verb. In this chapter, we shall examine the negative verb and its variants to see how each of them interacts with other items in a given sentence. We start by reviewing Banjo's (1974) work on negation and then proceed to discuss the negation of some constituents including the quantifiers. We conclude the chapter by presenting arguments to show that the Yoruba negative verb is not a reinforcer (Oke 1982).

5.2. Banjo (1974)

Banjo (1974) defines negation on the basis of its syntactic and distributional criteria and goes on to talk about the different types of negative verbs in the language. He also advances arguments for the recognition of the following negative verb classification:

Kò and its variants ò, kí, ì are the sentence negator.

- (1) Olú kò lẹ
 Olu NEG go
 "Olu didn't go"

Kó is the negator of the NP.

- (2) Olú kó ní ọ̀ lọ
 Olu NEG FOC he go
 "It was not Olu who went"

Má/mọ́/yé is the imperative negator.

- (3) Má lọ
 NEG go
 "Do not go"

Má negates part of the predicate phrase that follows it in a sentence.

- (4) Ọ̀ lẹ́ má lọ
 He may NEG go
 "He may not go"

Tíi and mọ́ are preverbal and postverbal adverbials respectively, their presence unambiguously marking sentence negation in non-interrogative sentence.

- (5) (a) Olú kò lọ mọ́
 Olu NEG go again
 "Olu has stopped going"
- (b) Olú kò tíi lọ
 Olu NEG () go
 "Olu has not gone"

5.3. Some Comments on Banjo (1974)

Banjo's analysis is straightforward enough but it is not without its problems especially when it comes to possible interpretation of his examples. For instance, though sentence (1) permits a sentential performative paraphrase of the type "I say of Olu that it is not true that he went" (Payne 1985:201)**, the sentence also has several other uses in which a subsentential constituent is negated. Depending on the context of discourse in which (1) occurs, it admits

of two non-sentential readings paraphrasable as:

- (6) (a) It was not Olu who went (If Ojo went)
 (b) Olu didn't go (Olu did something else)

In Gabbay and Moravcsik's (1978) view, a sentence made up of a subject and a predicate such as (1) contains a subsentential negation. They do not deny that (1) can be interpreted as involving sentence negation as claimed by Banjo, but apart from this, (1) still has additional uses such as the ones exemplified in (6). Payne (1985:200)** supports this view when he states that as "the contextual articulation of the sentence varies, so does the apparent scope of negation, and in such a way that what is negated is the contextually free information".

The view of these two writers is made more explicit by Aldridge (1982:109) when he gives as an example the sentence "Milton did not write Paradise Lost" and states that the sentence is in three ways ambiguous:

it may be that the speaker is denying Milton's authorship; he may be denying that he physically wrote the poem, perhaps implying that he dictated it; or the negation may be centred upon Paradise Lost, implying that some other work, e.g. Paradise Regained was written by Milton.

To account for the contextual variation of the use and the interpretation of a sentence that contains a negative verb, Gabbay and Moravcsik (1978) associate a set of elements V^* with each basic element V of the same basic category. Thus, if $V = \text{Olu}$ then V^* contains other names different from Olu. If $V = \text{he}$ then V^* contains the variables mo "I", o "you" etc. "The choice of V^* depends on V . For example if V has an antonym, then the leading element of V^* will be this antonym denoted by V'' " (Gabbay and Moravcsik 1978:259). In short, V^* is the family of all those members of the same category as V that are incompatible.

5.3.1. The Negative Adverbials

If kò does not necessarily mark sentence negation, how then do we account for the claim that kò occurs only with the negative adverbials such as mó "again" and tii "has" which, according to Banjo, mark sentential negation, and does not occur with negative forms such as aláikqrin "the fact of not singing". Observe (7):

- (7) (a) Olú kò kqrin mó
 Olu NEG sing again
 "Olu has stopped singing"
- (b) *Olu ɕe aláikqrin mó
 Olu do the fact of not singing again

The non-cooccurrence of the negative form aláikqrin "the fact of not singing" and the negative adverbial mó "again" as shown in (7) (b) can be explained by the fact that aláikqrin "the fact of not singing" is a nominal derived from the verb kqrin "sing" by the prefixation of the derivational morphemes oní and ài as in (8).

- (8) Oní+àì+kqrin=Aláikqrin "the fact of not singing"

Nagucka's (1978:82) comment on the type of negation in (8) is that it is "limited in its scope only to the lexical item and has no bearing on the other elements of the sentence. It is of local nature ... and it does not affect the relations that exist among the elements of the sentence". Bamgbose (1986:32)** calls (8) a derivation in which the negation of a "constituent is lexicalized". Awobuluyi (1972:108)** also refers to a nominal such as the one in (8) as "negated nominalization" and Zimmer (1964:70)** calls it an abstract noun which expresses "some sort of opposition to the verb" from which it is derived. As "adverbs function as modifiers of constituents other than nouns" (Schachter

1985:20), the non-cooccurrence of the negative form aláikq̄rin "the fact of not singing" and the negative adverbial m̄q̄ "again" becomes clear.

Note that if kò is also nominalized, it can no longer occur with m̄q̄ "again". For example, from the underlined VP in (9) (a) which contains kò, the nominal in (9) (b) can be derived but whereas (9) (a) can occur with the negative adverbial m̄q̄ "again", as in (9) (c), a sentence containing the nominal in (9) (b) cannot as shown in (9) (d).

- (9) (a) Ó ṣe e kò gbowó
 He did it NEG get money
 "He did it without receiving any financial reward"
- (b) Àṣeègbowó "that which is done without one receiving
 any financial reward"
- (c) Ó ṣe é kò gbowó m̄q̄
 He did it NEG get money again
 "He did it though he has stopped receiving any
 financial reward"
- (d) (i) Ó ṣe àṣeègbowó
 "He did that which is done without any
 financial reward"
- (ii) *Ó ṣe àṣeègbowó m̄q̄
 "He did that which is done without any
 financial reward again"

5.3.2. Nominalizing the Negative Verb

This has now brought us to another point raised by Banjo in the paper under discussion. According to him, "only m̄à and never kò" (Banjo 1974:45)** is used in nominalization. This point, he argues, supports the claim that "m̄à is used for negating units other than sentences" (Banjo 1974:45)**. (9) (a) and (b) are good counterexamples to this claim. It may be the case that because of the deletion of the consonant /k/ of kò in (9) (b) (see (9) (a)) and the assimilation of the

stranded vowel /ò/ into the vowel preceding it, one might think that (9) (b) is not the nominalization of a VP in which the negative verb, kò occurs.

Against this last view is an explicit account of the type of deletion and post-deletion processes taking place in (9) (a) and (b) presented by Abimbola and Oyelaran (1975:42-43)** which can be summarized as follows. Consonant deletion occurs when an item such as kò follows "one formative and precedes another" in a sentence. After the deletion of the consonant, the stranded vowel is then assimilated into the one preceding it. This simple rule clearly accounts for the processes taking place in (9) (a) and (b). First, kò finds itself between the pronominal é "it" and the VP gbowó "get money". Its consonant gets deleted and the stranded vowel is assimilated into the preceding vowel.

5.3.3. Sentential and Sub-sentential Negation: A Critique

Finally, that a sentential and a subsentential negation classification of the negative verbs should not be based on their cooccurrence with the "negative adverbials" (Banjo 1974:45) mó "again" and tíì is shown by the fact that another negative verb, mà, classified by Banjo as a subsentential negator, occurs freely with these "adverbials".

- (10) (a) Ó lè má lq mó
He may NEG go again
"He may not go again"

- (b) Ó lè má tíì lq
He may () go
"He may not have gone"

The cooccurrence of the negative verb máà with both tíì and mó "again" shows that the functions of both tíì and mó "again" are different from the ones suggested by Banjo.

5.4. Modifier Negation

The cooccurrence of the negative verb kò and the "negative adverbial" mó "again" can be explained not in terms of sentence negation marking, as stated by Banjo, but in terms of the interaction of modifiers and negation. When the negative verb occurs with modifiers, negation can apply to the modifier or the VP. This is because if one says Kò kq̄rin mó "He has stopped singing", "each part of the sentence", according to Gabbay and Moravcsik (1978:255), "should have some role in conveying the information intended". If the intended information is the denial or the criticism of the modified phrase without the modifier playing any role, one would have simply said Kò kq̄rin "He did not sing". The inclusion of the modifier in the sentence indicates that it has a role in conveying information for "it would be positively misleading" (Gabbay and Moravcsik 1978:255) to use Kò kq̄rin mó "He has stopped singing" in order to convey the information that the subject in question did not sing.

In the case of such adverbials as mó "again" classified as "durational adverbial" by Moravcsik (1982:107), the negation stays with the adverbial. Thus, Kò kq̄rin mó "He has stopped singing/He is no more singing" is the negation of Ó ñ kq̄rin síbè "He is still singing". This shows that if mó "again" is V, one of its V* is síbè "still". When the adverb is negated in this way, we have a case of "jumping" (Gabbay and Moravcsik 1978) in which the negative verb and the element negated are not adjacent syntactic units. Other instances of "jumping" are the cooccurrence of the negative verb with the class of adverbs classified by Moravcsik (1982:108) as "containers" and the ones classified by Oke (1974:241)** as the manner adverbials both of which are exemplified by (11) (a) and (b) respectively.

- (11) (a) Wɔn kò parí rẹ ní ọjọ kan
 They NEG complete it in one day
 "They didn't complete it in a day"
- (b) Olú kò rìn jẹ́jẹ́
 Olu NEG walk gently
 "Olu didn't walk gently"

(11) (a) says that it took longer than a day to finish it i.e. "They finish it not-in-a-day". (11) (b) says "He walked not-gently" i.e. Ó rìn kẹ́mọ́kẹ́mọ́ "He walked briskly".

If we now turn to the "referential" and the "instantaneous" adverbials (Moravcsik 1982:108) like ní ọjọ ẹtì "in Friday" and ní ọwọ́ "at the moment" respectively, what we find is that negation applies not to the adverbial but to the VP.

- (12) (a) Kò wá ní ọjọ ẹtì
 NEG come in day Friday
 "He didn't come on Friday"
- (b) Kò kọ́wé ní ọwọ́ (Kò kọ́wé lẹ́wọ́)
 NEG write book in hand
 "He is not writing at the moment"

(12) (a) asserts that on Friday no act-of-coming took place while (12) (b) says that he is not writing at the moment but something else is in progress.

From these examples, it is clear that the adverbial mọ́ "again" does not mark sentence negation. Like some of the other adverbials, it attracts the NEG element hence instead of the VP it modifies being negated, it is the adverbial itself that is negated. As shown in (10) (a), the adverbial mọ́ "again" occurs freely with the so-called constituent negator, má. When it does this, again, it is the adverbial that is negated, not the VP. For example, in Ó lè má kọrin mọ́ "It is possible that he may not sing again", what is negated is not "everything that

follows it (the negative verb, má) in the VP" (Banjo 1974:42)** but rather, as in Ko kọrin mọ́ "He is no more singing/He has stopped singing" which negates Ó ń kọrin tẹ̀lẹ̀ "He was singing before", it is Ó lẹ̀ kọrin tẹ̀lẹ̀ "He could sing before".

5.5. Focus Negation

As we have stated above, a simple sentence such as Ó pa Dàda "He killed Dada" allows for not only a NP negation either in the subject or object position but also a verb negation. This does not mean that a specific element in a sentence or even the sentence itself cannot be focus negated; some facts about focus negation which are not often noted by some Yoruba linguists are worth noting here. The way an item is focussed for negation with the negative verb kò is different from the way the same item is focussed for negation with the negative verb kó. To focus Olu for negation with kò in (13) (a), what we have is (13) (b).

- (13) (a) Olu u lo
Olu HTS go
"Olu went"
- (b) Olu ni ko lo
Olu FOC NEG go
"It was Olu who didn't go"

This is quite unlike Nupe where the focus marker does not occur in the negative (Heine and Reh 1984:159). Below, we discuss the operations for associating any element or the sentence itself with kó¹.

5.5.1. Subject NP

The element is fronted to the sentence-initial position and a third person singular or plural pronominal is inserted in its former position. The following should also be noted. First, if the subject NP is a pronoun, it has to be nominalized before being fronted. This is exemplified in (14) (e) and (f).

Second, in speech, the third person singular pronominal is often inserted no matter what the number of the NP is hence, instead of (14) (c) and (d), (14) (g) and (h) can be heard.

- (14) (a) Olú ń lẹ
Olu HTS go
"Olu went"
- (b) Olu kẹ ni ń lẹ
Olu NEG FOC he go
"Olu was not the one who went"
- (c) Olú àti Ọjó ń lẹ
Olu and Ojo HTS go
"Olu and Ojo went"
- (d) Olú àti Ọjó kẹ ni wọn lẹ
Olu and Ojo NEG FOC they go
"Olu and Ojo were not the ones who went"
- (e) ń lẹ
He go
"He went"
- (f) Ọun kẹ ni ń lẹ
He NEG FOC he go
"He was not the one who went"
- (g) Wọn lẹ
They go
"They went"
- (h) Àwọn kẹ ni ń lẹ
They NEG FOC he go
"They were not the ones who went"

5.5.2. Object NP

The process that applies to an NP in subject position applies here too. The only difference is that no pronominal is inserted in the gap left behind by the NP object.

- (15) (a) Ó na Adé
"He hit Ade"
- (b) Adé kq̣ ni ó nà
Ade NEG FOC he hit"
"Ade was not the one he hit"

5.5.3. Verb

In most cases, the verb is nominalized by the reduplication of its initial consonant and the insertion of the vowel /i/ with a high tone between the double consonants. It is this derived nominal that is now fronted while the verb itself is neither replaced nor deleted.

- (16) (a) Ó lq̣
He go
"He went"
- (b) Lílq̣ kq̣ ni ó lq̣
Going NEG FOC he go
"It was not the act of going that he performed"

5.5.4. Adjective

The adjective can be negated either outside or inside the NP it modifies. What applies to an NP either in the subject or object position without an adjective, as described above, applies to an NP in which an adjective modifies a noun. In both cases, however, the adjective is the item negated. (17) (b) and (d) negate the NP in (17) (a) and (c). To negate an adjective outside the NP it modifies, the adjective is first nominalized without any overt marking and focussed. It is then relativized before it is finally negated. While (17) (e) is the negation of the adjective in (17) (a), (17) (f) is the negation of the same item in (17) (c).

- (17) (a) Qm̩q̣ dúdú ú lq̣
Child black HTS go
"A black child left"

- (b) Ọmọ dúdú kọ́ ní ọ́ lọ
Child black NEG FOC he go
"It was not a black child who left"
- (c) Mo rí ọmọ dúdú
I saw black child
"I saw a black child"
- (d) Ọmọ dúdú kọ́ ní mo rí
Child black NEG FOC I saw
"It was not a black child that I saw"
- (e) Dúdú kọ́ ní ọmọ tí ọ́ lọ
Black NEG FOC child REL he go
"The child who left was not black"
- (f) Dúdú kọ́ ní ọmọ tí mo rí
Black NEG FOC child REL I see
"The child I saw was not black"

5.5.5. Adverbial

Here, we shall base our discussion on the adverbial classification made by Oke (1974)**.

5.5.5.1. Place Adverbial

Under this subheading, Oke (1974)** discusses such items as ní Ìbàdàn "in Ibadan" and ní ilé "in the house". These items are nominalized without any overt marking and fronted to the sentence-initial position. After nominalization and fronting, the preposition ní "in" is optionally deleted and a new particle tí, which is different from our phase marker tí "has", is introduced into the VP. The preposition cannot be stranded, hence (18) (c) is not acceptable.

- (18) (a) Mo rí ẹ ní Ìbàdàn
I see you in Ibadan
"I saw you in Ibadan"

- (b) (Ní) Ìbàdàn kọ́ ni mo ti rí ẹ
 (In) Ibadan NEG FOC I PRT see you
 "It was not in Ibadan that I saw you"
- (c) *Ìbàdàn kọ́ ni mo ti rí ẹ ní
 Ibadan NEG FOC I PRT see you in
 "It was not in Ibadan that I saw you in"

5.5.5.2. Reason (or Purpose or Result) Adverbial

This adverbial behaves exactly as the place adverbial except that instead of the introduction of the particle ti in the VP, another particle şe is introduced.

- (19) (a) A wá nítorí owó
 We came for reason money
 "We came because of the money"
- (b) (Ní) torí owó kọ́ ni a şe wá
 (In) reason money NEG FOC we PRT come
 "It was not because of money that we came"

5.5.5.3. Time and Manner Adverbials

These are also nominalized and fronted without any overt marking. No new particle is introduced into the VP and the preposition in the time adverbial is optionally realized after fronting.

- (20) (a) Ó máa n' rìn jẹ́jẹ́
 He HAB walk gently
 "He normally walks gently"
- (b) Jẹ́jẹ́ kọ́ ni ó máa n' rìn
 Gently NEG FOC he HAB walk
 "He doesn't normally walk gently"
- (c) Ó máa n' wá ní alaale
 He HAB come in night-night
 "He comes every night"

- (d) (Ní) alaálé kọ ní ọ máa ń wá
 (In) night-night NEG FOC he HAB come
 "It isn't every night that he comes"

5.5.6. Sentence Negation

As stated above, a sentence can also be focus negated. To do this, the negative verb kọ is placed at the end of the sentence. The sentence may or may not be nominalized and the presence of the focus marker is optional. (21) (b) and (c) are the focus negation of (21) (a).

- (21) (a) Olu lọ
 Olu go
 "Olu went"
- (b) Olu lọ kọ (ní)
 Olu go NEG (FOC)
 "The point is that Olu did not go"
- (c) Pé Olú lọ kọ (ní)
 Say/that Olu go NEG (FOC)
 "That Olu went is not the point"

5.6. Negative Imperative

5.6.1. The Characteristics of the Yoruba Imperative

The Yoruba imperative is distinguished from its declarative counterpart by the following characteristics:

- (22) (a) Its structure may or may not have an overt grammatical subject. When it has a subject, this is always a second person pronoun.
- Jáde - Go out
 - Iwọ jáde - You go out
 - *Emi jáde - I go out
 - *Òun jáde - He go out

- (b) The first and third person pronouns which are impossible as imperative subjects can occur in the jé kí "let" construction where the second person pronoun is excluded.

Je kí ní/ó/á/wón/*ẹ/*o/jade

Let me/him/us/them/*you/*you/go out

- (c) In the VP, just as in a sentence with a pronominal subject, the imperative is characterized by an absence of the HTS.

Ọla á lọ

Ola HTS go

"Ola went"

Lọ "Go"

Mo lọ

"I go"

- (d) Semantically, according to Davies (1986:49), whereas "a declarative asserts a proposition, an imperative merely presents one". Just as the proposition asserted by the declarative may or may not be true, the proposition presented by the imperative also may or may not be true.

5.6.2. Negating the Imperative

With the above distinctions noted between the Yoruba imperative and the declarative sentences, some Yoruba linguists are of the opinion that there should also be a distinct negative verb which occurs only in the imperative and nowhere else. This is the view shared by Amuda (1986:197-198)** when he states that má' is the imperative negator. The CMS's (1913:155)** A Dictionary of the Yoruba Language also defines má' as "a negative particle used in the imperative mood". Banjo's (1974)** analysis of the negative verb ma can also be classified with the two studies just cited (i.e. Amuda (1986:197-1-198)** and CMS (1913:155)**) if his imperative negator má' "not" in (3) is a distinct item from his verb phrase negator má' "not" in (4). As he does not make any comment on the two má's just mentioned, the question that crops up can be framed thus, are the two má's i.e. the ones in (3) and (4), different items or are

they the same item performing two different functions?

In our opinion, it is the same item that is being used for two different functions. That this is the case is shown by the fact that yé/mó which are classified as the variants of má, the so-called imperative negator, also perform the same function for the VP negator, má.

- (23) (a) Olú kò lè mó ló
 Olu NEG M NEG go
 "Olu cannot but go"
- (b) Olú kò lè yé é ló
 Olu NEG M NEG go
 "Olu cannot stop going"

Observe that mó and yé still have the same meaning when used in a declarative sentence such as (23) and when used in an imperative sentence such as (24).

- (24) (a) Mo ló
 "Don't go"
- (b) Yé é ló
 "Stop going"

Examples (23) and (24) show quite clearly that it is the same má that is being classified as the VP and the imperative negator.

Oke (1982)** is more careful in his analysis of the negative verbs. He notes that má not only occurs both in the imperative and in the non-imperative sentences but that "when the non-imperative positive verbal group is baà or bàá, máà is the only negator that may be used to effect negation ... as in: kí a máà baà ló 'so that we might not go'" (Oke 1982:252)**. The only problem with Oke's analysis is the claim that the negative verb kò cannot occur in an imperative

sentence. An example which shows that this claim is not correct is (25) where an embedded sentence which forms part of the NP is negated with kò.

- (25) (a) Mǎ fẹ ẹnì tí kò lówó
 Don't marry person that NEG have money
 "Don't marry someone who is not rich"

From the above discussion, it is clear that one cannot distinguish between kò and mǎ on the basis of their occurrence or non-occurrence in the imperative. Rather, they can be differentiated in terms of their position in a given sentence.

Kò precedes all auxiliary verbs in both the matrix and embedded sentences of a non-imperative construction as in (26) (a) and (b). It also precedes all auxiliary verbs in an embedded sentence of an imperative as in (26) (c).

- (26) (a) Olú kò tíì lówó
 Olu NEG PH have money
 "Olu is not yet rich"
- (b) Ó fẹ Olú tí kò tíì lówó
 He marry Olu that NEG PH have money
 "She marries Olu who is not yet rich"
- (c) Mǎ fẹ Olú tí kò lówó
 NEG marry Olu that NEG PH have money
 "Don't marry Olu who is not rich"

Mǎ, on the other hand, occurs before all auxiliary verbs in the imperative as in (27) (a) and occurs either after an auxiliary verb, a conditional marker (i.e. ìbáà "even if") or a verb (i.e. modifying verb, main verb etc.) in a non-imperative and in an embedded sentence as in (27) (b) and (c).

- (27) (a) Mǎà tíì lẹ
 NEG PH go
 "Don't go yet"

- (b) Ó lè má lọ
He may NEG go
"He may not go"
- (c) Olú tí ó lè má gbowó qjà
Olu that he may NEG get money market
"Olu who may not receive (any) money for the
articles (he sold)"

The above generalization about kò makes unnecessary Oke's (1982:252)** remark that kò does not precede such auxiliary verbs as yóò/á/máa and ń. The reason is that any time kò follows any of these auxiliary verbs, it does not occur in the same matrix sentence with them. In Oke's example given in (28), the underlined ń "say/tell" is a verb which subcategorises for a sentence hence, kò following it occurs at the initial position of an embedded sentence i.e. Kò sówó "There is no money".

- (28) Wọ́n a jẹ́ 'lú run tán, wọ́n aní kò s'ówó
"they ruin the finances of the state,
and tell you there is no money"

There is also no justification for Payne's (1985:240)** claim, quoting Banjo (1974)**, that in "Yoruba, the main-clause sentential negative is kò, whereas the subordinate negative is má".

On the interpretation of the negative in the Yoruba imperative, we agree with Davies (1986:75) that there is no difference between negation in the imperative and negation in the declarative sentences. Once it has been realized that the negation may be interpreted with more than one type of scope, then, just as "negation may be associated either with the assertion which a declarative sentence constitutes, or with the proposition of which the declarative is an assertion, so it may be associated either with the presentation constituted by an imperative or with the particular proposition which is presented" (Davies

1986:72).

Finally, it should be noted that the adverbial and focus negation exemplified with declarative sentences above also apply to the imperative. For example, on adverbial negation, Má rìn kẹ́mọ́kẹ́mọ́ "Don't walk briskly" implies "Walk not-briskly" i.e. Rìn jẹ́jẹ́ "Walk gently". (29) (b) shows a focus negation of an imperative.

(29) (a) Jọ́
"Dance"

(b) Ijọ́ kọ ni mo ní kí o jọ́
Dance NEG FOC I say that you dance
"I didn't ask you to dance"

5.7. Modal Negation

Both the event and the modality (Palmer 1979:26) can be negated in a sentence containing a modal verb in Yoruba². When the event in Mo lè bá a lọ "I can go with him" or "I may go with him" is negated as in (30) (a), the scope of negation is said to be external, but when the modality is negated as in (30) (b), the scope of negation is internal.

(30) (a) N kò lè bá a lọ
I NEG can accompany him go
"I can't go with him"

(b) Mo lè má bá a lọ
I can/may NEG accompany him go
"I may not go with him"

5.7.1. Epistemic Modality

5.7.1.1. Lè "Can/may"

As shown in (30) (a) and (b), the negation of the epistemic lè "can/may" can either be internal or external. While (30) (a), where the scope of negation of lè "can/may" is external can be paraphrased by "It is not possible that I go with him", (30) (b), in which its negation is said to be internal, can be paraphrased by "It is possible that I may not go with him". Other examples are:

- (31) (a) Mǒríámò ... ìwọ̀ ò lè déhìn-ín wá wòran mi {P. 6}
 Moriamo ... you NEG can reach here come look
 play me
 "Moriamo ... it is not possible for you to
 come and watch my show" (i.e. to come and
 see how he is being executed).
- (b) Ó lè wà nílẹ̀, ó sì lè má sí nílẹ̀
 He may be in house, he also may not be in house
- kò yí ètò ohun tí Àlàbá yóò ẹ̀ padà {p. 60}
 NEG change arrangement things that Alaba
 will do turn back
 "Whether he is in or not, the plans already made
 by Alaba are not changed"

It may be argued here that lè "can/may" owes its internal scope of negation in (30) (b) and (31) (b) to the fact that it precedes rather than follows the negative verb. That this is not the case is shown by (32) where the negative verb precedes lè "can/may" and the scope of negation is still internal.

- (32) Ó mọ̀ pé yanrìn ni wọn kì sínú àwọn àgbá rìbìtì,
He know that/say sand FOC they put inside those
drum round,

rìbìtì ọ̀hún, kí ọ̀ta ìbọ̀n tí wọn bá yín ...
round over there, that bullet gun that they shoot to

má le tàtápò sí ẹ̀hìn lẹ̀hùn-ún {P. 7}
may not stray to back other side
"He knows that the drums are filled with sand
in order for the bullets from the gun shot not to
pass through them to the other side"

5.7.1.2. Gbọ̀dọ̀ "Must"

Epistemic gbọ̀dọ̀ "must" is outside the scope of both the internal and external negation. That is, neither the event nor the modality can be negated by combining the negative verb with the epistemic gbọ̀dọ̀ "must". Hence, neither (33) (b) nor (c) is the negation of (33) (a). While (33) (b) which is grammatical is the negation of the deontic gbọ̀dọ̀ "must", (33) (c) is ungrammatical and unacceptable. Even in "verbal crossing out" (Halliday 1970:33) where a previous "must" is specifically denied in which the use of "mustn't" is possible in English, the use of the negative plus gbọ̀dọ̀ "must" is still not acceptable. So, Whereas (33) (d) is possible in English, (33) (e) is unacceptable in Yoruba.

- (33) (a) Ó gbọ̀dọ̀ wà nílẹ̀
He must be in house
"He must be in" (i.e. I confidently infer
that he is at home)
- (b) Kò gbọ̀dọ̀ sí nílẹ̀
NEG must be in house
"He must not be in" (i.e. It is
necessary/important that he is not in)
- (c) *Ó gbọ̀dọ̀ má sí nílẹ̀
He must NEG be in house
- (d) He must be in – Oh no, he mustn't

- (e) Ó gbòdò wà nílé - *Rárá, kò gbòdò
 He must be in house - No, NEG must
 "He must be in - No, he must not"

This is not to say that sentence (33) (a) cannot be negated. To negate it, we use lè "can/may". This means that the difference between the epistemic gbòdò "must" and lè "can/may" neutralizes in negation. This type of neutralization also occurs in German (Ladd (personal communication)). Just as in (30) (a) and (b), (33) (a) can be given either an internal or an external negation with the use of lè "can/may". Witness (34) (a) and (b).

- (34) (a) Kò lè sí nílé
 NEG can be in house
 "He cannot be in"
- (b) Ó lè má sí nílé
 He may not be in house
 "He may not be in"

While (34) (a) is the external negation of (33) (a), (34) (b) is its internal negation.

5.7.1.3. Yóò "Will"

When the epistemic yóò "will" is negated, it is the event that is affected hence, in N kò níí lq "I won't go", what is negated is not the modality but the act-of-going taking place i.e. "I predict that, for me, not-the act of going" (i.e. the act of going is not taking place).

5.7.2. Deontic Modality

5.7.2.1. Lè "Can/may"

With the deontic lè "can/may", negation can apply either to the event or the modality. While (35) (a) means "... you are not permitted to stay at work", (35) (b) means "... you are permitted not to stay at work".

- (35) (a) Mo fẹ́ẹ́ rán ọ níṣẹ́ lọ síbì kan lónìí
 I want INF send you in work go to place one today
 o ò níí lẹ̀ dúró níbì iṣẹ́ {p. 64}
 you NEG () can stop/stay in place work
 "I want to send you on an errand today,
 you cannot stay at work"
- (b) Mo fẹ́ẹ́ rán ọ níṣẹ́ lọ síbì kan lónìí
 I want INF send you in work go to place one today
 o lẹ̀ máà dúró níbì iṣẹ́
 you may NEG stay/stop in place work
 "I want to send you on an errand today,
 you may not stay at work"

Examples (35) (a) and (b) show that just as in its epistemic counterpart, the scope of negation in a sentence containing the deontic lẹ̀ "can/may" can either be internal or external. The deontic lẹ̀ "can/may" differs from the epistemic lẹ̀ "can/may", however, in that the placement of the negative verb is not important in the case of the latter, whereas the placement of the negative verb is very important in deciding the scope of negation of the former. As the examples in (30)–(32) show, the negative verb can either follow or precede the epistemic lẹ̀ "can/may" to negate either the modality or the event. For the deontic lẹ̀ "can/may", the negative verb always precedes it for the negation of modality and follows it for the negation of the event.

5.7.2.2. Gbọ́dọ̀ "Must"

Only the event can be negated in a sentence containing the deontic gbọ́dọ̀ "must". O ò gbọ́dọ̀ sẹ́ é means "You are required not to do it or I order you not to do it". The meaning of the deontic gbọ́dọ̀ "must" is adequately captured in the following conversation where X tells Y what he must not do.

- (36) X O ò gbòdò wí nńkan kan nípa ògá rẹ
 You NEG must say thing one about master you
 fún ẹnì kan kan
 for person one one
 "You must not say anything about your master to anyone"
- Y Kín ló ẹ ògá mi sà
 Q FOC it do master me sir
 "What happened to my master sir?"
- X O ò gbòdò sọ pé ọ fara pa
 You NEG must say that he take body cut
 "You mustn't say he was wounded"
- Y Ògá mi kò fara pa sà
 Master me NEG take body cut sir
 "My master was not wounded sir"
- X O ò gbòdò sọ pé a gbé e wá síhìn-ín lóru
 You NEG must say that we carry him come to here
 in late in the night
 "You must not say we brought him here late in the night"
- Y Ẹ ẹ gbé e wá síhìn-ín lóru sà {p. 142}.
 You (pl.) NEG carry him come to here late in the night
 "You didn't bring him here late in the night sir"

5.7.2.3. Yóò "Will"

The negation of the deontic yóò "will" contrasts with that of the epistemic yoo "will". While with the former, negation affects modality, with the latter, it is the event that is negated. Both can be exemplified as follows: N ò níí fún un "I won't give it to him"

- (37) Deontic - I do not intend to give it to him
 I am not willing to give it to him

Epistemic - I predict that, for me, not-the
 act of giving it to him (i.e. the
 act of giving it to him is not
 taking place"

5.8. Phase and Aspect Negation

5.8.1. Aspect Negation

Neither aspect nor phase can be negated in a direct manner in Yoruba. That is, given a sentence such as (38) (a) which in formal language can be written as (38) (b), the interpretations available are those in which either "He" or "jump" is negated. PROG can be negated, according to Moravcsik (1982:96) "only by such awkward circumlocution" such as (38) (c).

- (38) (a) ó n fò
 He PROG jump
 "He is jumping"
- (b) $\text{PROG}(\text{Jump}(\text{He}))$
- (c) It is not the case that he is jumping now,
 but that he has completed jumping.

The way out of this circumlocution, in Moravcsik's (1982:96–99) opinion, is "to interpret negation with aspect on the subsentential level" and apply negation "inside the PROG operator, directly to the VP". Thus, for (38) (a), the negation is (39) (a) which, in formal language, is not (39) (b) but (39) (c).

- (39) (a) Kò fò
 NEG jump
 "He is not jumping"
- (b) $\neg \text{Ex}(x \text{ is in progress, and } x \text{ is a jump by HIM})$
- (c) $\text{Ex}(x \text{ is in progress, and } x \text{ is not a jump by HIM})$

With (39) (c), the negation of (38) (a) can be true then "if and only if at the point or interval of evaluation, the agent" is not jumping but doing something else (Moravcsik 1982:99). This contrast principle of negation also applies to both the perfective and the habitual aspects. For the perfective, (40) (b), which

is the negation of (40) (a), is true if and only if at the point of evaluation, the agent does/did not jump but did/does something else.

- (40) (a) Olú ú fò
 Olu HTS jump
 "Olu jumps/jumped"
- (b) Olú kò fò
 Olu NEG jump
 "Olu did/does not jump"

It will be noted that the distinction between the perfective and the progressive neutralizes in negation, hence, (39) (a) and (40) (b) have everything in common except the subjects. The reason for this neutralization, according to Givón (1978:97), is because "tense-aspect in affirmative is almost always larger – but never smaller – than in the negative. Thus languages tend to innovate more tense-aspectual elaboration in the affirmative, and only slowly do these innovations spread into the negative. For the habitual, (42), the negation of (41), is true if and only if at the point of evaluation, the agent does not regularly perform the act of jumping but performs some other act.

- (41) Ó mǎá n fò
 He HAB jump
 "He usually/often jumps"
- (42) Kì í fò
 NEG jump
 "He doesn't often jump"

5.8.2. Phase Negation

The contrast principle of negation does not work well with the phase negation. That is, (43) (a) does not say that in the interval at the point of evaluation, instead of jumping, the agent has completed another act. Rather, it says that at the interval before the point of evaluation, the act of jumping was not

completed by the agent. (43) (a) does not rule out the agent spending his/her time doing something else other than jumping. Hence, we can still continue (43) (a) to give us (43) (b).

(43) (a) Kò tǐí fò
NEG PH jump
"He has not jumped"

(b) Kò tǐí fò, ń gbá bọ̀lù lẹ̀wọ̀
NEG PH jumped, he PROG play ball in hand
"He hasn't jumped, he is still playing football"

The denial in (43) (a) "leaves it open as to whether something else is completed some time within the interval, or whether the interval is taken up with a state or event that does not lead to completion" (Moravcsik 1982:101). In contradistinction to aspect, therefore, when NEG element attaches to PH(VP), negation applies before the PH operator.

5.9. Quantifier Negation

Three types of quantifiers have been recognized in Yoruba. They are the universal quantifier, gbogbo "all"; the absolute quantifier, mẹ̀wàá "ten" etc.; and the relative quantifier, e.g. púpọ̀ "many", díẹ̀ "few/a few". (Ekundayo (176:59)**.

The three are distinguished from each other as follows:

Universal - identifies whole sets without indicating exact numbers.

Absolute - gives exact numbers of items quantified.

Relative - quantifies relative to some unspecified sets.

These three types of quantifiers fall within two classes of Jespersen's 'tripartition' of values in his treatment of "Negation in general as expressed in language" (Jespersen n.d.:3). Jespersen's (1924:324-325) 'tripartition' is based upon the two logical extremes and the intermediate state lying between them.

The 'tripartition' is set out as follows:

Next we have to consider some terms of paramount importance to the logician as well as to the linguist, namely the two absolute extremes 'all' and 'nothing' with the intermediate 'something'. Let us call the two extremes A and C and the intermediate B. They are most naturally represented in a descending scale

A everything, all, everybody (all girls, all the money)
 B something, some, somebody (some girls, a girl, some money)
 C nothing, none, nobody (no girls, no money)

Jespersen comments further:

The intermediate B of course admits many subdivisions of which we may mention some of special linguistic interest

B1	many (girls)	much (money)	very (sorry)
B2	a few (girl)	a little (money)	a little (sorry)
B3	few (girls)	little (money)	little (sorry)

Jespersen also puts all numerals in class B. This is justified by the fact that apart from zero, all numerals fall between the two extremes represented by A, e.g. "all" and C, e.g. "nothing".

The C class is not realized as a lexicalized quantifier in Yoruba. According to Ekundayo (1976:62)**

Yoruba has no single word analogous to English "none", "nobody", "nothing" etc., but it expresses the senses of such lexical items existentially. Thus, "nobody" is kò sí ẹ̀nìkàn (not exist person one); "nothing" is kò sí nìkàn (not exist thing-one) and "none" is kò sí (ò)kàn (not exist (one)). The Yoruba word for "zero" i.e. òfó does not express the sense of "none" and it cannot be used in partitive constructions Thus, there is no *òfó nínú wá "zero of us" analogous to kò sí nínú wá "none of us".

The Yoruba expressions for "none, nobody and nothing" can be explained in terms of Jespersen's (n.d. 81) scalar values. According to him, 'not four' does

not mean "whatever is above or below 4 in scale, but what is below 4 ... something between 4 and 0 ... 'not everything' means something between everything and nothing". Horn (1978:136) explains this in terms of scalar predicates, items "which can be arranged on a strength scale defined by entailment of the form $P_1 < P_2 \dots P_n$ (where P_n entails all P_k such that $k < n$), (and which) can be said to assert or entail the lower bond". In the same manner, kò sí ẹ̀nì kan/ǹnkan/òkan "no one person/one thing/one" means something or somebody below one which is equivalent to "nobody, nothing or none" in languages that have lexicalized quantifier terms for such items.

This is not to say that a "not" followed by a numeral cannot be interpreted as 'more than'. On this, Jespersen (n.d. 81) states that "when not+numeral is exceptionally to be taken as 'more than', the numeral has to be strongly stressed, and generally to be followed by a more exact indication: the hill is not two hundred feet high, but 'three hundred'".

From the foregoing, it is quite clear that Ekundayo's Yoruba universal quantifier is in Jespersen's A class. Both his absolute and relative quantifiers belong to the B class but in a different classification from that of Jespersen. The Yoruba quantifiers can be represented as shown below where Bii and Biii can be said to be almost identical to Jespersen's B2 and B3.

universal	-	A	-	<u>gbogbo</u>	"all"
absolute	-	Bi	-	<u>mẹ̀wàá</u>	"ten", <u>ogun</u> "twenty"
relative	-	Bii	-	<u>díẹ̀</u>	"few/a few"
	-	Biii	-	<u>púpọ̀</u>	"many", <u>ogunlogo</u> "several"

5.9.1. Negation and the A class

The negation of the Yoruba universal quantifier is discussed by Ekundayo (1976)** within the framework of the predicate calculus. The major shortcoming noted is that the framework used for the discussion does not allow for enough

interpretation of the effect of negation on the quantifier. The fact is that any description of quantifier negation in Yoruba must take account of three important factors which are (i) the properties of the said quantifier, (ii) the position of the quantifier relative to the negative verb and (iii) the type of sentence in which the quantifier occurs i.e. whether any of the items is focussed or not. As none of these three factors is discussed in any detail by Ekundayo, we shall adopt Jespersen's 'tripartition' to discuss the interaction of the negative verb with the universal quantifier using the examples given by Ekundayo. We shall briefly examine Jespersen's system in dealing with English quantifier negation. Then, we shall present our interpretation of this system regarding Yoruba examples and contrast our proposal with Ekundayo's approach.

5.9.1.1. Jespersen's Observation

For the negation of the A class, Jespersen (1924:326) has this to say:

.... Here we have the general rule that if the negative word is placed first, it discards the absolute element, and the result is the intermediate term: Not A = B, If, on the other hand, the absolute term is mentioned first, the absolute element prevails, and the result is the contrary notion A ... not = C

Some of the examples used to justify his claim are the following:

They are not all of them fools [not A = B]
 The one (uncle) I was always going to write to.
 And always didn't [A not = C]

On the 'A ... not' configuration, Horn (1978:139) notes that

Jespersen observes correctly that the 'A ... not' configuration ... often has a different interpretation in natural language, if the A-term is a quantifier. Examples like

(48) All that glitters is not gold

Thank Heaven, all scholars are not like this
 Tout le monde n'est pas fait pour l'art

abound, where A ... not = B (or, more correctly, A ... not = not A = B ... not).

Jespersen attributes this phenomenon to "the result of two tendencies, to place the subject first and to attract the negation to the verb" (1924:327), so that the negative which would logically precede the universal ('Not all that glitters ...') is attracted instead to the unmarked nexal position as in (48) (the numbering is ours).

Huddleston (1985:431) also states that the two interpretations available for constructions such as Jespersen's A ... not where the A-term is a quantifier can be "distinguished prosodically" in English. In Yoruba, both interpretations can be distinguished by focussing. Hetzron (1980:279) presents convincing arguments to show that both grammatical intonation and focus should be regarded as part of the sentence and therefore should be given their rightful place in grammar.

From these writers' remarks, one can conclude that Jespersen's 'A ... not' can be 'not A' if both focussing and prosody are regarded as part of the sentence. Having discussed the A class in Jespersen's three-cornered system, we can now examine Ekundayo's data to see what additional information can be provided here about the interaction of the Yoruba quantifiers and the negative verbs.

5.9.1.2. Ekundayo (1976)** on the Negation of the Universal Quantifier

Ekundayo's (1976)** discussion of the universal quantifier negation is based on the following examples (the numbering is ours)

- (49) (a) Gbogbo wa ni ó lè sọ èdè Gẹ̀ẹ̀sì
 All we is he can speak language English
 "All of us can speak the English language"

- (b) Gbogbo wa ni kò lè sọ èdè Gẹ̀ẹ̀sì
All we is not can speak language English
"All of us are unable to speak the English language"
- (c) Gbogbo wa kọ́ ni ó lè sọ èdè Gẹ̀ẹ̀sì
All we not is he can speak language English
"Not all of us can speak the English language"
- (d) Kì í ẹ̀ gbogbo wa ni ó lè sọ èdè Gẹ̀ẹ̀sì
It isn't all we is he can speak language English
"It is not all of us who can speak the English language"
- (e) Kì í ẹ̀ pé gbogbo wa ni ó lè sọ èdè Gẹ̀ẹ̀sì
It isn't that all we is he can speak language English
"It is not the case that all of us can speak the English language"
- (f) Kó sí (ọ̀kan) nínú wa tí ó lè sọ èdè Gẹ̀ẹ̀sì
Not exist (one) among us who can speak language English
"None of us can speak the English language"

Out of these examples, five are relevant to our discussion. The one that we shall not be discussing is (49) (e) because it is an example of what Payne (1985:199)** regards as a performative paraphrase. As a performative paraphrase, it can be used not only when the whole sentence is in the scope of negation but also when the VP or the NP is. It can also be used when any of the sentence term is in the scope of negation (Aldridge 1978:109). Our stand on (49) (e) is identical to the one taken by Ekundayo (1976:62)***. On it, he states that

(49) (e) could be right if either of the constituents in what follows kì í ẹ̀ pé "it is not the case that" were negated. Hence, (49) (e) is true if not all of us can speak English, but at least one of us can It is also true if none of us can speak English but all of us can speak German. In that case, what is in dispute is the language all of us can speak, and nothing there indicates that any of us can speak English, kì í ẹ̀ pé "it is not the case that"

specifies a null set. Thus, depending on what constituent of (49) (a) is negated in the internal structure of (49) (e), it, (49) (e), ambiguously describes cases where 'none' or 'some' or 'many' of us can speak English. This possibility of multiple interpretation of (49) (e) makes it unsuitable for our discussion (the numbers in the quotation are ours)

On (49) (b), Ekundayo says it completely denies (49) (a). This is not surprising if we note Jespersen's remark on this type of sentence. It will be noted that (49) (a) is a focus sentence, that is, it is a sentence in which the universal quantifier is focussed. It is this focussed item that is now negated in (49) (b) in Jespersen's A ... not configuration. The possibility of the negative verb being attracted to the verb base form is then blocked by the presence of the focus marker. The only meaning available, therefore, is that of Jespersen's A ... not = C which is the same with Ekundayo's null set.

Ekundayo states that both (49) (c) and (d) do not deny (49) (a) and he gives the following logical representations for both of them

If 'be a person' = p, 'be here' = H, 'speak English' = Se, 'all (the universal quantifier)' = V, 'the existential quantifier' = where \exists , 'if - then' = \supset , & = 'and', \sim = 'logical negation', let 'y' be the variable to be used, then (49) (c) and (d) can be represented as

$$\sim(\forall y) ((Py \ \& \ Hy) \supset Sey)$$

i.e. Not for all y is it true that if y is a person and y is here, then y speaks English

We agree with Ekundayo that both (49) (c) and (d) do not deny (49) (a) especially as both are right if at least one of the people concerned can speak English. But the problem with his analysis is that the way each fails to deny (49) (a) is not made explicit in his representations. It will be noted that the negative verb follows the universal quantifier in (49) (b) and (c) and both have the configuration A .. not. The question then is if (49) (b) is a complete

negation of (49) (a), why not (49) (c)?

The reason for this is that whereas (49) (b) is the negation of (49) (a), (49) (c) is the negation of another sentence. A close look at both (49) (b) and (c) shows that the focus marker, *ni*, which Ekundayo glosses as "is", occurs in different places in the two sentences. Whereas the focus marker precedes the negative verb in (49) (b), it follows the negative verb in (49) (c). What this means is that whereas (49) (b) negates (49) (a) where there is a focussed universal quantifier, (49) (c) is the focus negation of (50) where there is an unfocussed universal quantifier.

- (50) Gbogbo wa lè sọ èdè Gẹ̀ẹ́sì
 All we can speak language English
 "All of us can speak the English language"

If focus is taken, following Jackendoff (1972:255), as denoting "the information in the sentence that is assumed by the speaker not to be shared by him and the hearer", then, one can say that "the presupposition (i.e.) ... the information in the sentence that is assumed by the speaker to be shared by him and the hearer" (Jackendoff 1972:230) of sentences (49) (b) and (c) differs.

Another possible negation of (50) is (51) (a). Whereas (51) (a) allows for more than one type of interpretation i.e. (51) (b) and (c), (49) (c), in which the negative verb is "specified as new, within a contrastive sentence" (Chafe 1970:229–230), allows for only (51) (b) as its negation.

- (51) (a) Gbogbo wa kò lè sọ èdè Gẹ̀ẹ́sì
 All we cannot speak language English
 "All of us cannot speak the English language/Not
 all of us can speak the English language"
- (b) One/some/many of us can speak the English
 language

(c) Not one of us can speak the English language

As it is the negative verb that is focussed in (49) (c) and not the universal quantifier, Jespersen's 'A ... not' configuration does not work as well with it as it does with (49) (b). Though the focus marker blocks verb attraction both in (49) (b) and (c), the 'A ... not' configuration of (49) (c) gives rise to only a B interpretation in Jespersen's 'tripartition'. This interpretation contrasts with the observation of Jespersen in English where 'A ... not' should normally be a C and only by verb attraction can it be interpreted as B.

As for (49) (d), it will be noted that the negative verb precedes the universal quantifier which indicates a 'not A' interpretation in Jespersen's configuration. A 'not A' in Jespersen's configuration always results in a B except "when the negative is attached prefixally or implied" (Horn 1978:139). As there is neither a prefixal negative nor a negative by implication in (49) (d), it is not surprising that the only interpretation available agrees with Jespersen's 'not A' = B configuration i.e. "one/some/many of us can speak the English language". This shows that though our analysis agrees with that of Ekundayo in his claim that both (49) (c) and (d) have a B interpretation, the way each arrives at the B interpretation differs.

That (49) (f) is a complete negation of (49) (a) can also be explained in terms of Jespersen's scalar values and Horn's scalar predicates that we have touched upon above. The scalar values and predicates account for the use of "not one" for "none", "no" and "not one thing" for "nothing" in languages such as Yoruba. In Jespersen's (n.d. 81) words, this scalar hypothesis "explains how 'not one' comes to be the natural expression in many languages for 'none', 'no', and 'not one thing' for 'nothing'".

5.9.2. Negation and the B class

Jespersen's (1924:325) suggestion that on numerals, "the general rule ... is that not means 'less than' or in 'other words 'between the word qualified and nothing'" accounts for the relation between negation and the Yoruba numerals. Thus, the expression, Kò ka ìwé mẹ́ta lódún "He does not read three books a year" means that he reads less than three books. This does not mean that such an expression cannot be given a "more than three books" reading but, in such a case, as we have stated earlier, "the whole combination has generally to be followed by a more exact indication" (Jespersen 1924:325) i.e. Kò mú ìwé mẹ́ta, mẹ́rin lò mu "He does not take three books, he takes four".

The effect of negation on our Bii, díè "few/a few" and Biii, púpò "many" is also straightforward. The negation of the former gives the latter and that of the latter gives the former. This is quite unlike English and some other languages where items in the same class as Bii are often classified as covering Jespersen's B2, "few". and B3, "a few". In such languages, B2 is always negative and B3, always positive i.e. "few" = 'less than you would expect'; "a few" = 'more than you would expect'. In Yoruba, Bii is neither positive nor negative, it is neutral.

5.10. Yoruba Negative Verb as a Reinforcer – A Critique

The last aspect of negation to be considered in this chapter is a point raised by Oke (1982:257–261)** in which he claims that Yoruba negative verbs often act as reinforcers in a given sentence. According to him, the occurrence of double negation in a clause does not always result in cancellation, producing a positive reading. In some cases, he states further, one of the negative verbs gives the other an emphatic reading. The examples given are the following:

- (52) (a) $\overset{\text{I}}{\text{Kó máà lọ ọ́}}$ $\overset{\text{II}}{\text{Kí ọ́ máà lọ ọ́}}$
 "Who cares whether he goes or not"
- (b) Kì báá má rí i Ìbáá máà rí i
 "He wouldn't have found it"
- (c) Kò báà wà n'íbẹ̀ Ìbáà wà n'íbẹ̀
 "Even if she was there"
- (d) $\text{Kò kì n' jẹun ọ́sán}$ Kì n' jẹun ọ́sán
 "He doesn't eat launch"

The deletion of the negative verb in I, according to him, produces II both with the same meaning but with loss of emphasis in II.

A close scrutiny of the examples given by Oke shows that none of them supports the suggestion that double negation can be used for emphasis in the language. (52) (a) is easy to dispose of: the kí in (52) (a) II is not a negative verb. The item is often glossed in English as "let" hence, the correct representation of (52) (a) I and II is (53) (a) and (b) respectively.

- (53) (a) Kó máà lọ ọ́
 Let him NEG go EMPH
 "Let him not go (if he likes)"
- (b) Kí ọ́ máà lọ ọ́
 Let him NEG go EMPH
 "Let him not go (if he likes)"

From our observation and from what we gather from some other Yoruba speakers, what happens in (53) (a) and (b) is just the deletion of vowel "í" in kí of (53) (b) to produce kó of (53) (a). With this explanation, it is not clear to us where Oke gets his two negatives. The only negative verb in the two clauses is máà.

We note too that the kí in (52) (a) I is not a negative verb as Oke would want us to believe but is what Abimbola and Oyelaran (1975:43) call the possibility marker³. (52) (b) I and II (reproduced below for convenience), where we have the third person pronominal subject can be compared with (54) and (55) where we have the first and second person pronominal subjects respectively.

- (52) (b) I Kì báà máà rí i
 PROB even if NEG see/find it
 "Even if he doesn't find it"
- II Ì báà máà rí i
 PROB even if NEG see/find it
 "Even if he doesn't find it"
- (54) (a) A kì báà máà rí i
 We PROB even if NEG see/find it
 "Even if we do not find it"
- (b) A baa maa ri i
 We even if NEG see/find it
 "Even if we do not find it"
- (55) (a) Ẹ kì báà máà rí i
 You(pl) even if NEG see/find it
 "Even if you do not find it"
- (b) Ẹ báà máà rí i
 You(pl) even if see/find it
 "Even if you do not find it"

We shall not discuss the deletion of the item kì in (54) (b) and (55) (b) if compared with (54) (a) and (55) (a) respectively because the deletion of the item has been given a comprehensive treatment by Abimbola and Oyelaran (1975)**.

As for (52) (b) I and II, it will be noted that the third person pronominal subject is not realized in them whereas the first and second person pronominal

subjects are present in (54) and (55). The reason for this is that "the first person singular pronoun (3rd sing. pro.) deletes obligatorily before kò/kì (NEG), yóò ("will") and kì (PROBABLE)" (Abimbola and Oyelaran (1975)). To account for the difference between expressions such as (52) (b) I and II, Abimbola and Oyelaran (1975:42)** postulate some rules needed for the deletion of consonants in "Yoruba grammatical formatives". According to them, the initial non-syllabic segment of a grammatical formative deletes in Yoruba whenever it follows one formative and precedes another. The difference between (52) (c) I and II can be explained, according to them, in terms of which of the following two rules applies to each of them:

- (56) (i) Obligatory deletion of the 3rd sing. pro. before kò/kì "NEG", yóò "will" and kì "PROBABLE".
- (ii) The optional deletion of the initial non-initial segment of a grammatical formative that follows one formative and precedes another.

The full representation of (52) (b) I and II, therefore, is (57).

- (57) 3rd sing. pro. kì báà máà rí i
 3rd sing. pro. PROB even if NEG see it
 "Even if he does not find it"

If the obligatory rule in (56) (i) applies first, kì "PROB" would find itself in the initial position without any other formative preceding it. If this happens, (56) (ii) will be blocked and what we can then have is (52) (b) I. As for (52) (b) II, (56) (ii) applies first i.e. kì "PROB" is preceded by one formative and followed by another, it, therefore, deletes the consonant "k" leaving the vowel "i". After this deletion, (56) (ii) applies. The application of these two rules produce (52) (b) II.

We also agree with Abimbola and Oyelaran (1975:41 n.9)** that kì "PROB" never negates the kind of sentences in (52) (b) I, (52) (b) II, (54) and (55). Any

negation that is noted in the sentences is brought about by the presence of the negative verb máà.

As for (52) (c) and (d) the view shared by us and the other Yoruba speakers we have consulted is that they are the type of sentences used by Lagos Yoruba speakers where, in standard Yoruba, we have the following:

- (58) Kì báà wà nílẹ̀/ì báà wà nílẹ̀
 PROB even if is in house/PROB even if is in house
 "Even if he is at home"
- (59) Kì í jẹun ọsán
 NEG eat afternoon
 "He doesn't eat lunch"

The Yoruba dialect spoken by the Lagos speakers differs considerably from the ones spoken in the other parts of the Yoruba-speaking area and most importantly, from the standard Yoruba on which Oke bases his work.

On the difference between the type of Yoruba spoken by the people of Lagos and the ones spoken by the people in the other parts of the Yoruba-speaking area, Simpson (1979:5)** states that:

While the Yoruba ... in Oyo State ... is expected to be highly competent in his mother-tongue, the average inhabitant of the Lagos area is expected to be ... less competent ... in his Nigerian mother-tongue, having been exposed to an urban civilization in which terms are frequently borrowed from English in Yoruba speech, more so than is the case in other Yoruba-speaking States such as Oyo, Ogun and Ondo States.

An example that can be used to support the claim made by Simpson above is as follows: In Yoruba, there is a rule that changes the first person singular subject (1st per. sing.) Mo "I" to ń before the negative verb kò/ò. With the application of this rule, the negation of (60) (a) is (60) (b).

- (60) (a) Mo lɔ
 I go
 "I goes/went"
- (b) N ɔ̃ lɔ
 I NEG go
 "I didn't/don't go"

As this type of rule is not available in English i.e. "I go", "I didn't go", the rule is not often observed in the speech of the Lagos speakers of Yoruba. So, instead of (60) (b), we have (61).

- (61) Mo ɔ̃ lɔ
 I NEG go
 "I didn't/don't go"

As Oke's analysis is concerned with the standard Yoruba and not the type of Yoruba spoken by the people of Lagos, examples (52) (c) I and II and (52) (d) I and II are not very safe in making grammatical decisions. A grammatical decision based on such examples can be compared with one in which a decision of grammaticality in Modern English is based on such sentences as "*Nobody doesn't like me" which, though is correct in English dialects and in earlier periods of the language, is asterisked in Modern English.

5.11. Summary

As will have been noted, the scope of the analyses presented in this chapter is far narrower than the scope of negation in the language demands. Nevertheless, many prevailing views have been called into question in the analysis and some new problems have been identified.

We have shown that neither mó "again" nor tíí marks sentence negation in the language. We also suggest that the contrast principle of negation which works well for aspect encounters some problems when applied to the phase system.

We also give examples to show that apart from cases where the universal quantifier is focus negated, Jespersen's tripartition of value can be used to account for the negation of the Yoruba quantifiers.

Finally, we suggest that a situation where one of two explicit negative verbs in a clause functions as a reinforcer does not exist in standard Yoruba, hence any sentence of this type should be accounted for dialectically and stylistically.

Notes and References to Chapter 5

1. Terms often used in transformational grammar are used for the operations taking place here.
2. Just as in Chapter 4, most of the examples used in the description of modal negation are taken from the novel, ATOTÓ ARÉRE. The pages of the examples so used are also put in curly bracket i.e. {}.
3. It is also worth noting that there is some confusion in the examples given by Oke. In (52) (b) I and II and (52) (c) I and II, we have the word báá. In (52) (c) I and II, the word is glossed as "even if" its correct gloss. In (52) (b) I and II, the gloss used for the same word is "would have" which is the gloss for another word bá. In discussing (52) (b) I and II, we shall retain his Yoruba example and correct the English translation of the word báá. To derive (52) (b) I from (52) (b) II, we owe the following discussion to Abimbola and Oyelaran (1975:43)**.

CHAPTER 6

THE YORUBA AUXILIARY AND SOME RELATED SUBCLASSES OF VERB IN GPSG

In Chapter 2, we present arguments to show that the items classified as the elements of the category Aux by both Oke (1972) and Oyelaran (1982a) belong to two subclasses of verb, the modifying and the auxiliary. In that chapter, our discussion was basically descriptive and no attempt was made to account for the structural differences between the VP in which each of the two verbs occurs first within the framework of any grammar. In this chapter, we shall show, within the framework of the Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar (GPSG henceforth), how a VP in which the auxiliary verb occurs as the first verb differs from or resembles one in which the modifying verb occurs first. We shall then compare the latter with the verb infinitive phrase and the serial verb construction. We begin our discussion with the syntactic component of GPSG¹.

6.1. The Syntax

GPSG is a monostratal grammar in that it refers to only a single level of syntactic representation. Dr. Ronald Cann² has summarized what is contained in the syntactic component of GPSG as follows:

- A set of syntactic FEATURES which, together with a set of FEATURE CO-OCCURRENCE RESTRICTIONS define the set of SYNTACTIC CATEGORIES used in the grammar, and
- A set of IMMEDIATE DOMINANCE (ID) RULES which defines the possible HIERARCHICAL RELATIONS within PHRASE STRUCTURE TREES, and
- A set of LINEAR PRECEDENCE (LP) RULES defining the LEFT-TO-RIGHT ORDERING of words/phrases within a tree, and
- A set of METARULES that capture regularities between LEXICAL ID RULES by regularly giving as output a set of ID

rules for some already extant input of such rules, and

- A RULE TO TREE ALGORITHM to define the set of admissible PHRASE STRUCTURE TREES as defined by the set of ID and LP rules together with,
- A set of FEATURE INSTANTIATION PRINCIPLES which put restrictions on the way the barely specified ID rules admit acceptable LOCAL TREES, and
- A set of FEATURE SPECIFICATION DEFAULTS which give the UNMARKED values of any features, i.e. its value when no other principle or rule determines this.

Together these define an infinite set of phrase structure trees or syntactic structural descriptions of expressions in some language, the LEXICON providing the LEXICAL ITEMS (i.e. WORDS!) to TERMINATE the syntactic structures.

6.2. The Feature System

As will be noted from this brief summary, GPSG is, to a large extent, based on the theory of features. A feature in GPSG is defined as an ordered pair consisting of a feature name followed by a value which may be selected from an unordered set of values. This definition collapses the notion 'feature' and 'value of feature'. Thus, a feature specification can be shown as in (1).

(1) Feature:<feature name, feature value>

Features may be ATOM VALUED or CATEGORY VALUED. An Atom valued feature takes only a single unanalysable item as value while a Category valued feature takes a full category as value. The examples of these values in Yoruba are:

(2) ATOM-VALUED FEATURES

FEATURE NAMES	VALUES	DESCRIPTION
BOOLEAN:		
N	{+, -}	(nominal)

V	{+,-}	(verbal)
AUX	{+,-}	(auxiliary)
PERF	{+,-}	(perf/impfv asp.)
ASSOC	{+,-}	(associative)
NULL	{+,-}	("traces")

OTHERS:

PER	{1,2,3}	(person)
VFORM	{BSE,INF,MOD, SPLIT, SER}	(verb form - base infinitive, modifying, splitting, serial)
PFORM	{sí "to", ní "in", ti "from"}	(case-marking prepositions)
COMP	{bá "if" lbáá "even if", kí "that")	(complementizer type)
CASE	{NOM,ACC}	

B. CATEGORY VALUED

SLASH	CAT	(unbounded dependencies)
WH	CAT	(wh-constructions)
AGR	CAT	(agreement)

A CATEGORY is a set of features. It is defined as a partial function from the set of feature names to the set of values. The use of the term function in the definition ensures that each feature name is assigned only one value while the use of the term allows for a category to be unspecified for some features.

Some examples of categories are:

(3) {<N,+>,<V,->} (=N)

{<N,->,<V,+>} (=V)

{<N,+>,<V,+>} (=A)

{<N,->,<V,->} (=P)

but not

{<N,+>,<N,->}

{<V,+>,<V,->} etc.

The features that will concern us in this chapter are the features that can appear on [+V, -N] categories. These are features which could be associated with V and VP of an S. They are as follow:

(4) +BSE (main verb), +MOD (modifying verb)
 +SER (serial verb), +INF (infinitive verb)
 +AUX (auxiliary verb)

6.3. Conditions on the Cooccurrence of Properties between Constituents

There are two basic conditions on the cooccurrence of properties between constituents in GPSG. The first relates the properties of the mother category and those of the daughter categories. The second concerns the relationship between the properties in two or more daughter categories under the same mother.

6.3.1. Head Feature Convention

The categorial identity between mother and head is ensured by the Head Feature Convention (HFC). HFC ensures that the FREE head properties in a daughter category are identical to those in the mother category. By FREE head properties, we mean properties of the head which are not

- specifically stated in the rule to differ from that of the mother e.g. bar level in the rule $VP \rightarrow H[BAR\ 0], NP$
- required to differ from the mother because of the Feature Cooccurrence Restriction i.e. $[SUBCAT] \rightarrow \sim[SLASH]$ which states that a lexical category cannot have a SLASH specification. The V cannot have a SLASH in $VP/NP \rightarrow V, NP/NP$
- overridden by another feature instantiation principle.

The set of Head Features are {N, V, VFORM, PFORM, SLASH, NUM, PER, AGR, PAST, AUX, PRED}

6.3.2. Control Agreement Principle

The Control Agreement Principle (CAP) requires that two syntactic constituents standing semantically in a 'controller'-'controllee' relationship have the same agreement head properties. It interacts with HFC to ensure that sister categories have the same head properties. Some of the attributes of CAP list are "*person, number, gender, definiteness, case, tense, aspect, voice, negation and the like*" (Zwicky 1985:174).

6.3.3. Foot Feature Principle

The Foot Feature Principle (FFP) requires that a mother category possesses every foot property appearing in any one of its daughter categories. It acts as a constraint on the free instantiation of FOOT features and ensures that the instantiated FOOT feature specifications of the mother must be the unification of the FOOT feature specifications instantiated on the daughters. It should be noted, however, that like the HFC, FFP may fail to 'propagate' features appearing on categories by virtue of the fact that the features are stipulated by a rule or that they appear through the application of a metarule. SLASH and WH are examples of FOOT features.

6.4. Metarules

The metarules are the rules in the grammar which are based on the properties of other rules. Metarules derive lexical ID rules from other lexical ID rules and thus enlarge the set of rules of a grammar in a regular way. The application of metarules does not change the subcategorization features on lexical categories. The general form of metarules is:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} X & \text{---}> & W, Y \\ & \downarrow & \\ X' & \text{---}> & W, Z \end{array}$$

which states that given a rule of the form $X \text{ ---}> W, Y$, the grammar can contain a rule $X' \text{ ---}> W, Z$, "where Y or Z , but not both, may be null, W is some multiset of categories, X' is an extension of X and either Y is, or W contains, the lexical head of X " (Cann 1985:11).

6.5. Subcategorization in GPSG

GPSG uses a context free approach to subcategorization. This involves the use of a feature SUBCAT that takes as value an arbitrary INTEGER (e.g. $\langle \text{SUBCAT}, 2 \rangle$, $\langle \text{SUBCAT}, 3 \rangle$). The feature SUBCAT may only be specified on LEXICAL or MINOR CATEGORIES by the virtue of the Feature Cooccurrence Restrictions (FCRs)³:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{FCR: [BAR 1]} \text{ ---}> \sim [\text{SUBCAT}] \\ \text{FCR: [BAR 2]} \text{ ---}> \sim [\text{SUBCAT}] \end{array}$$

The feature SUBCAT is introduced specifically by individual rules so, to prevent free instantiation, we need a Feature Specification Default (FSD)³:

$$\text{FSD: } \sim [\text{SUBCAT}]$$

The use of SUBCAT allows us to state, for the Yoruba VP, a general Linear

Precedence Rule (LP Rule)³:

$$[\text{SUBCAT}] < \sim[\text{SUBCAT}]$$

which states that all lexical categories precede all non-lexical categories i.e. in a rule $VP \rightarrow V, NP$; V precedes NP .

The Immediate Dominance Rules (ID Rules)³ that introduce subcategorized contexts mark the category that does the subcategorization with the SUBCAT feature and some value. The lexicon then specifies which items have which value for SUBCAT and lexical insertion takes place whenever the value on the lexical item matches that on the lexical category. Examples of lexical entries are:

```
<ku "die", V[SUBCAT 1, -AUX], ...>
<ni "in", P[SUBCAT 8]>
```

Subcategorization in GPSG is LOCAL i.e. it is confined to sisters.

6.6. Feature Specification Defaults

The Feature Specification Defaults (FSDs) give the UNMARKED VALUE of some feature when the feature is not determined by anything else in the grammar. Two examples of FSDs are $\sim[\text{NULL}]$ which requires a category not to be empty except where specifically required to be so and $N \rightarrow [\text{CASE ACC}]$ which requires any noun to be accusative unless otherwise determined.

6.7. Feature Cooccurrence Restrictions

The Feature Cooccurrence Restrictions (FCRs) require that categories must conform to certain WELL FORMEDNESS CONDITIONS. They require the presence or absence of certain FEATURE given the presence or absence of another FEATURE within some category. For example, in this chapter, we need (5).

(5) [+PH], [+NEG], [+M], [+ASP] \supset [+AUX]

(5) states that all phase markers, negative verbs, modal verbs and aspect markers in the language are auxiliary verbs.

6.8. Modifying and Auxiliary Verbs – Similarity and Difference

With some aspects of GPSG formalism stated, we are now in a position to state the similarity and difference between a VP with an auxiliary verb as head and one with a modifying verb as head.

6.8.1. Similarity

Consider the set of rules in (6):

- | | | |
|-----------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| (6) (a) S | ---> NP, H[-SUBJ] | |
| (b) VP | ---> H[1] | kú "die", tàn "finish" |
| (c) VP | ---> H[2], NP | rí "see", nà "beat" |
| (d) VP | ---> H[3], PP | lọ "go", wá "come" |
| (e) VP | ---> H[4], S[+kí] | pé "say" ní "say" |
| (f) VP | ---> H[5], NP, PP | rán "sent" rí "see" |
| (g) VP | ---> H[6], ADVP | lọ rí "went (there) before" |
| (h) VP | ---> H[7], S | pé "say" ní "say" |
| (i) PP | ---> H[8], NP | ní ilé "in the house" |
| (j) | NP < VP | |

In (6), we have both the Immediate Dominance (ID) and the Linear Precedence Rules (LP). (6) (a)–(i) are the ID Rules and (6) (j) is the LP rule.

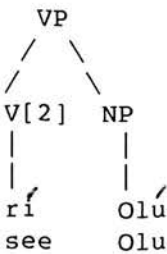
The ID rules state the hierarchical relations that obtain between expressions of different categories i.e. in (6) (a), the ID rule states that a NP and a VP are immediately dominated by a S. The rule says nothing about the ordering of the constituents.

To show the order of the constituents, the LP rules are introduced. The antisymmetric transitive relation '<' is used in GPSG to introduce LP rules. So, (6) (j) states that if a NP and a VP appear on the right hand side of an ID rule

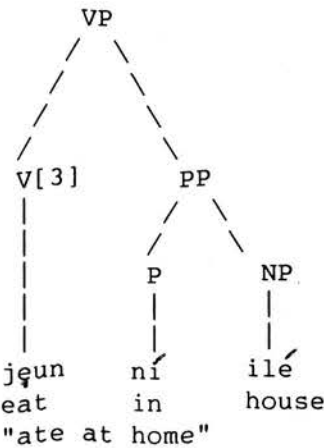
or if they both appear on the same mother as in (6) (a), the NP precedes the VP.

Although the rules in (6) give rise to structures like the ones in (7), neither the auxiliary nor the modifying verb can be inserted as the first verb in any subtree that the rules in (6) analyse. This is because whereas both the auxiliary and the modifying verbs must have at least a VP in their complement, each of the rules in (6) introduces a VP containing a single verb without any other VP in its complement. For instance, while (6) (b) introduces a verb that may appear without any overt object, (6) (c) introduces a verb which takes a single object. (6) (c) licences the structure in (7) (a) and (6) (d) and (i) licence the structures in (7) (b).

(7) (a)



(b)



6.8.2. Difference

Despite the similarity between the auxiliary and the modifying verb just noted, each of the two verbs appears as the first verb of a unique VP structure. We shall now discuss the difference between the two verbs. We begin with the auxiliary verb.

6.8.2.1. The Auxiliary Verb

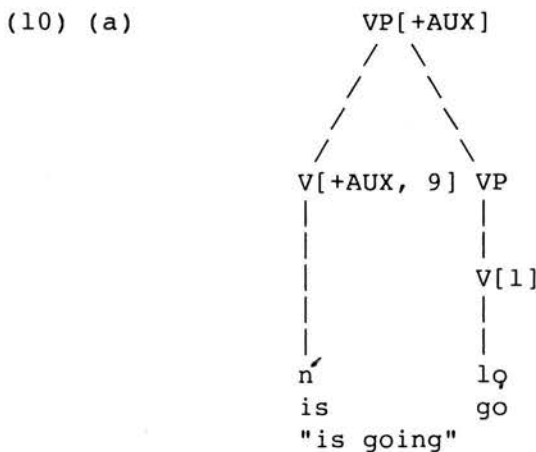
In Gazdar *et al.* (1982:11), the ID rule which introduces auxiliary verbs is given as (8):

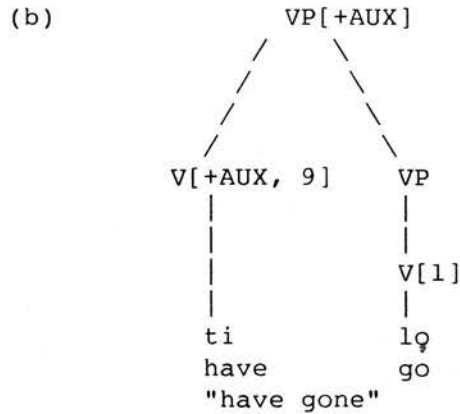
(8) VP[AUX] ---> H[9], VP[-AUX, +BSE]

(8) states that a VP which has an auxiliary as its first verb can take a VP as its complement. A rule like (8) can generate examples such as the ones in (9) which give rise to structures like (10) but (8) as it is, cannot generate (11).

(9) (a) Mo n' lɔ
I is go
"I am going"

(b) Mo ti dɛ
I have go
"I have gone there"





(11) (a) Mo n' ti ilé lq
 I is from house go
 "I shall be going there from home"

(b) Mo ti ti ilé lq
 I have from house go there
 "I have gone there from home"

The examples in (11) show that the rule in (8) needs to be modified. The modification we propose is (12).

(12) VP[+AUX] ---> H[10], (PP[ti]), VP⁴

(12) states that when the auxiliary occurs as the first verb in a VP, it can be followed by a PP[ti] and a VP or a VP alone. (12) is an improvement on (8) because it ensures that we generate not only the examples in (9) and (11) but also blocks the generation of such examples as (13) where the PP following the auxiliary verb is not a PP[ti].

(13) (a) *Mo n si ile lq
 I is to house go

(b) *Mo n ní ilé jɛun
 I have in house eat

Despite the improvement of (12) on (8), (12) still allows examples such as (14)

which are not allowed in the language.

- (14) *Mo mǎa á lɔ
I will INF go

The reason (14) is ungrammatical is that the auxiliary verb immediately precedes an Infinitive marker. It will be noted that there is nothing in either (8) or (12) stopping the generation of (14). For instance, there is no specification on the VP of the two rules; hence the first verb in the VP can be a modifying verb, an infinitive or just any verb. To disallow examples such as (14), we still need to modify our ID rule further. (15) is our new proposal.

- (15) VP[AUX] ---> H[l1], (PP[ti]), VP[-INF]

(15) ensures that only a VP whose head is a non-infinitive can serve as a complement to an auxiliary verb. Note that (15) does not disallow examples such as (16).

- (16) Mo ti fě ẹ rà á
I PH want INF buy it
"I had wanted to buy it"

(15) allows the generation of (16) because the infinitive verb marker does not follow the auxiliary verb immediately.

6.8.2.2. The Modifying Verb

Unlike the auxiliary verb, nothing debar the modifying verb from immediately preceding any verb. For this reason, we could have the lexical rule in (17) to introduce it.

- (17) VP[+MOD] ---> H[l2], (PP[ti]), VP

(17) says that a V[+MOD] node can be followed by PP[ti] and VP or a VP alone.

(17) can therefore generate not only (18) where the modifying verb immediately precedes a main verb but also (19) where it immediately precedes an infinitive marker.

(18) Ó tètè lɔ
 He hurry go
 "He went in time"

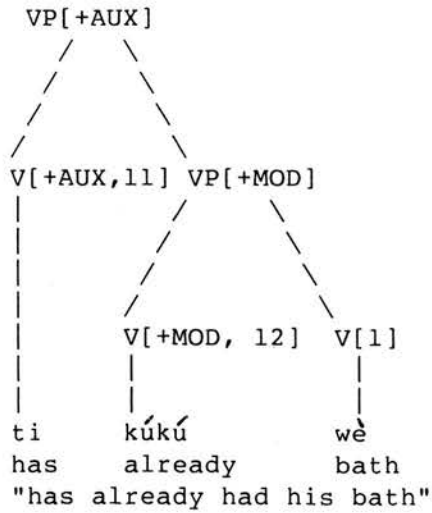
(19) Ó fɛrɛ ɛ tɔn
 It almost INF finish
 "It is about to finish"

The major difference between the modifying verb and the auxiliary verb, then, is that whereas the former can occur with the infinitive verb marker, the latter does not. Note that nothing in (17) debars a modifying verb from introducing or being introduced by an auxiliary verb phrase. This shows that the examples in (20) and (21) and the the structures in (22) and (23) can be generated.

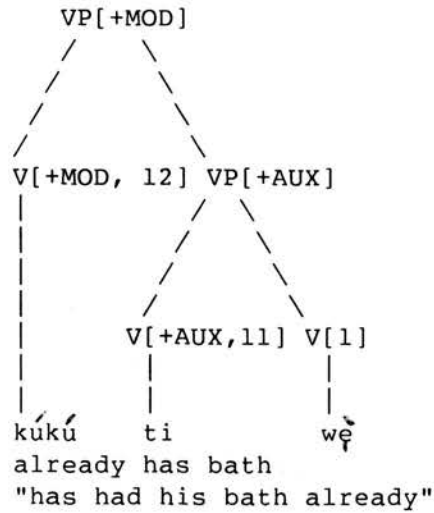
(20) Ó ti kúkú wɛ
 He PH already bath
 "He has already had his bath"

(21) Ó kúkú ti wɛ
 He already PH bath
 "He has had his bath already"

(22)



(23)



6.9. Introducing the Infinitive Verb Phrase and the Serial Verb Construction

A clear-cut distinction is not always made between verb subclasses such as infinitive, serial and modifying verbs by some Yoruba writers. For instance, in their analysis of the serial verb constructions, Ekundayo and Akinnaso (1983:116, 121) give the structure of Yoruba serial verbs as (24) (a) and exemplify them with (24) (b) (the numbering is ours).

(24) (a) NP V (NP) V (NP) V (NP) ...

(b) (i) Wón ti tún lè wá fẹ́ wá lọ gbé ẹ̀rù náà wá
 they have again can come want come go carry
 luggage come
 "They might have again decided to go
 and bring the luggage"

(ii) Ó fẹ́ wá wá wa wá
 he want come seek us come
 "He intends to (come and) look for us here"

We agree with Ekundayo and Akinnaso that there are some serial verbs in (24) (b) (i) and (ii) but a close look at the two sentences shows that apart from the serial verbs, there are auxiliary verbs, a modifying verb and infinitive verb phrases in the VP in (24) (b) (i) and both infinitive verb phrases and serial verbs in (24) (b) (ii). As these verbs have been recognized as belonging to different subclasses in the language⁵, the differences between the VP's which they head should be made clear in any analysis. In the remaining part of this chapter, we shall state the rules that handle both the infinitive verb phrase and the serial verbs and show how the sentences in (24) (b) should be analysed.

6.9.1. The Infinitive Verb

To start with, it should be noted that the orthographic representation given to sentences (24) (b) (i) and (ii) is not accurate because the infinitive verb marker, which is the lengthening of the last vowel of the word preceding the infinitive verb as in (19), is not indicated. If this is indicated, the VP in (24) (b) (i) and (ii) should be written as (25) (a) and (b) respectively.

(25) (a) Wón ti tún lè wá á fẹ́ é wá á lọ gbé ẹ̀rù náà wá
 they have again can come INF want INF come INF go
 carry luggage come
 "They might have again decided to go and bring the
 luggage"

- (b) Ó fẹ́ ẹ́ wá á wá wa wá
 he want INF come INF seek us come
 "He intends to (come and) look for us here"

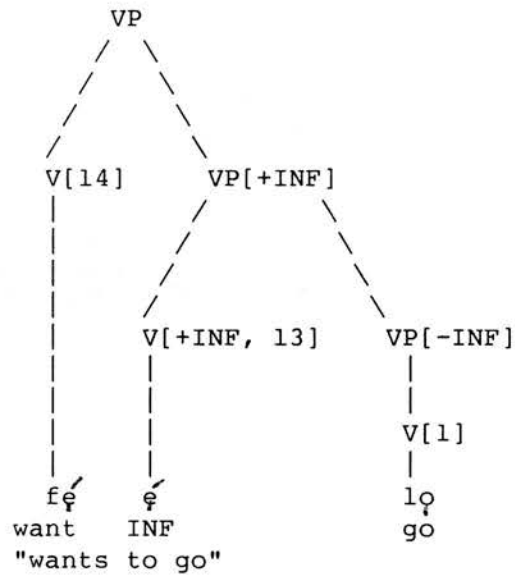
There are three infinitive verb phrases in (25) (a) and two in (25) (b) none of which are indicated in (24) (b). The rules that introduce the infinitive verb in the language are (26) (a), (b) and (c). While (26) (a) expands the infinitive verb phrase, (26) (b) and (c) introduce the infinitive as a complement.

- (26) (a) VP[+INF] ---> H[13], (PP[ti]), VP[-INF]
 (b) VP ---> H[14], VP[+INF]
 (c) VP ---> H[15], NP, VP[+INF]

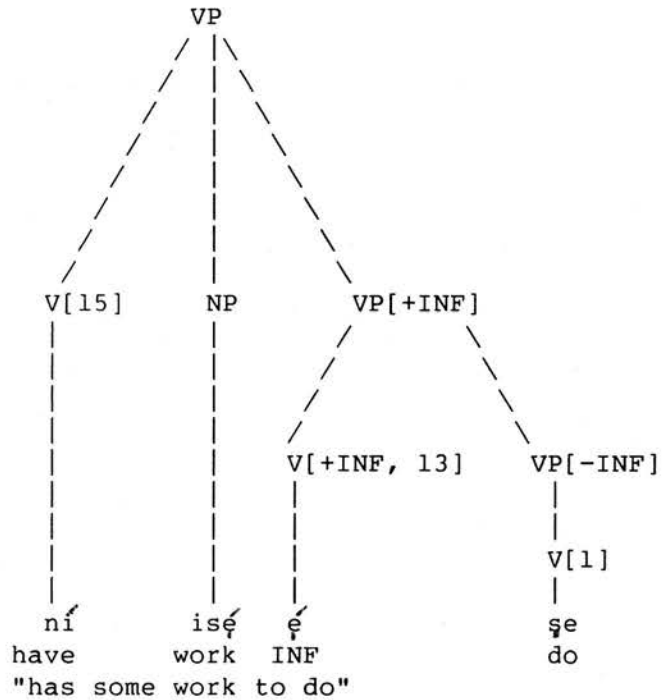
While (26) (a) and (b) together generate examples such as (27) (a), (26) (a) and (c) generate (27) (c). (26) (a) which introduces the infinitive verb phrase differs from (17) which introduces the modifying verb in that an infinitive verb does not immediately follow an auxiliary verb. There is no such constraint on the occurrence of a modifying verb for it can either precede or follow an auxiliary verb. So, (15) and (26) (a) taken together disallow the generation of (27) (b). The rules in (26) allow the generation of the expressions in (27) (a) and (c) and licence the structures in (27) (d) and (e).

- (27) (a) Mo fẹ́ ẹ́ lọ
 I want INF go
 "I want to go"
- (b) *Mo máà á lọ
 I will INF go
- (c) Ó ní iṣẹ́ ẹ́ ẹ́
 He have work INF do
 "He has some work to do"

(d)



(e)



6.9.2. The Serial Verbs

As with the other three verbal constructions, the serial verb construction also contains at least two verbs in a verb + complements structure but it differs from the other constructions in that its head can be followed by either a VP, a PP or a NP and that this head is always a V[+BSE]. So, to expand the serial

verb construction, we would need a lexical rule like (30).

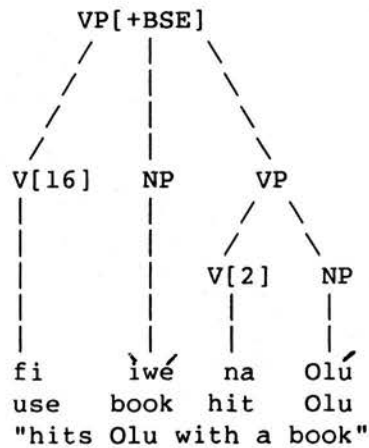
(30) $VP[+BSE] \rightarrow H[16], (XP), VP$
 $XP = [-V, BAR2]$

(30) will generate examples such as the ones in (31) (a) and (b) and will licence the structures in (31) (c) and (d).

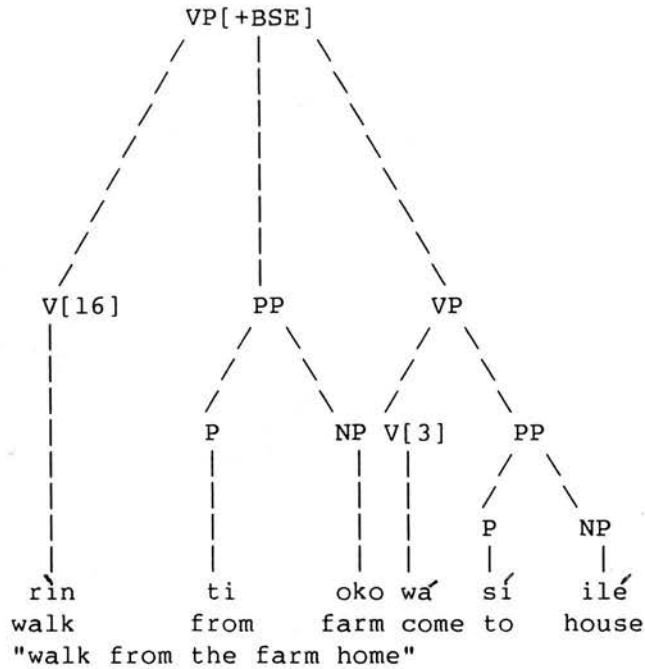
(31) (a) Ó fi ìwé na Olú
 He use book hit Olu
 "He hit Olu with the book"

(b) Ó rìn ti oko wá sí ilé
 He walk from farm come to home
 "He walked home from the farm"

(c)



(d)



The examples in (32) (a) and (b) are regarded as serial verb constructions by Oyelaran (1982b).

(32) (a) Ó sọ pé mo pé
 He say say I late
 "He said I was late"

(b) Ó sọ pé kí n pé
 He say say COMP I late
 "He said that I was late"

One of the sentences contains the complementizer ki. (32) (b) contains an Embedded sentence kí n pé "COMP I late". For introducing the complementizer, we need a feature COMP whose value is the name of the complementizer kí. The complementizer kí is not a head feature. Its distribution is governed by the FCR

[COMP] \supset [+SUBJ]

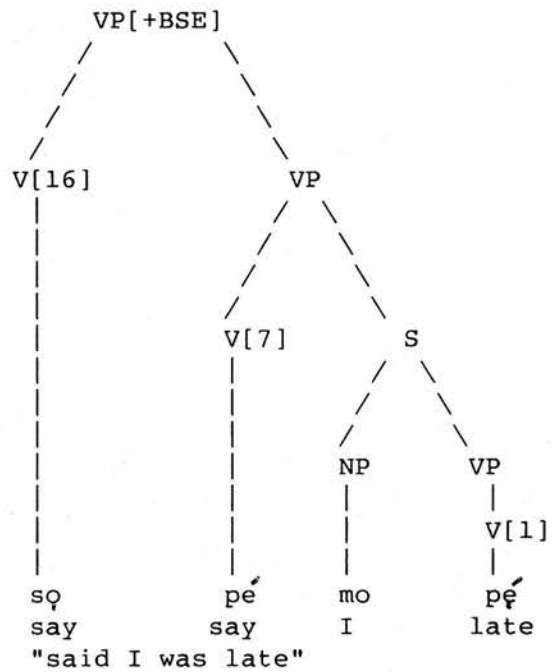
which states that any category in which COMP is assigned a value is one in

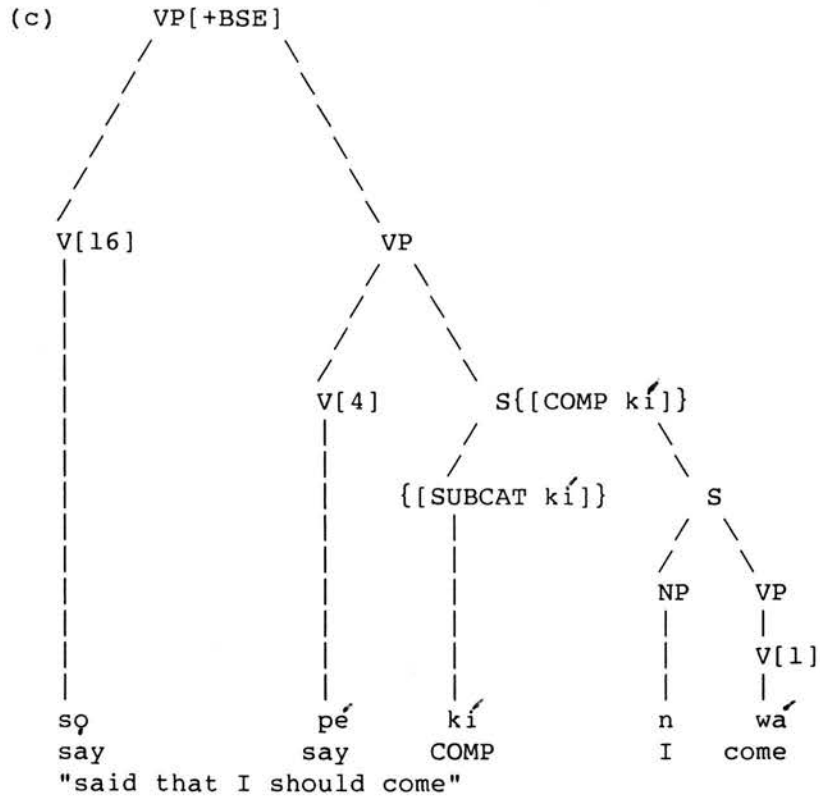
which the feature SUBJ is assigned the value +. This means that the only category that can contain a feature specification [COMP ki] is $V^2[+SUBJ]$. (33) (a), therefore, allows any clause positively specified for complementizer features to be expanded.

With (33) (a) introducing the complementizer $kí$, the rule in (30) can also be used to generate such examples as (32) (a) and (b) and the structures in (33) (b) and (c).

(33) (a) $S[COMP\ k\acute{i}] \rightarrow \{[SUBCAT\ k\acute{i}]\}, H[COMP\ NIL]$

(b)



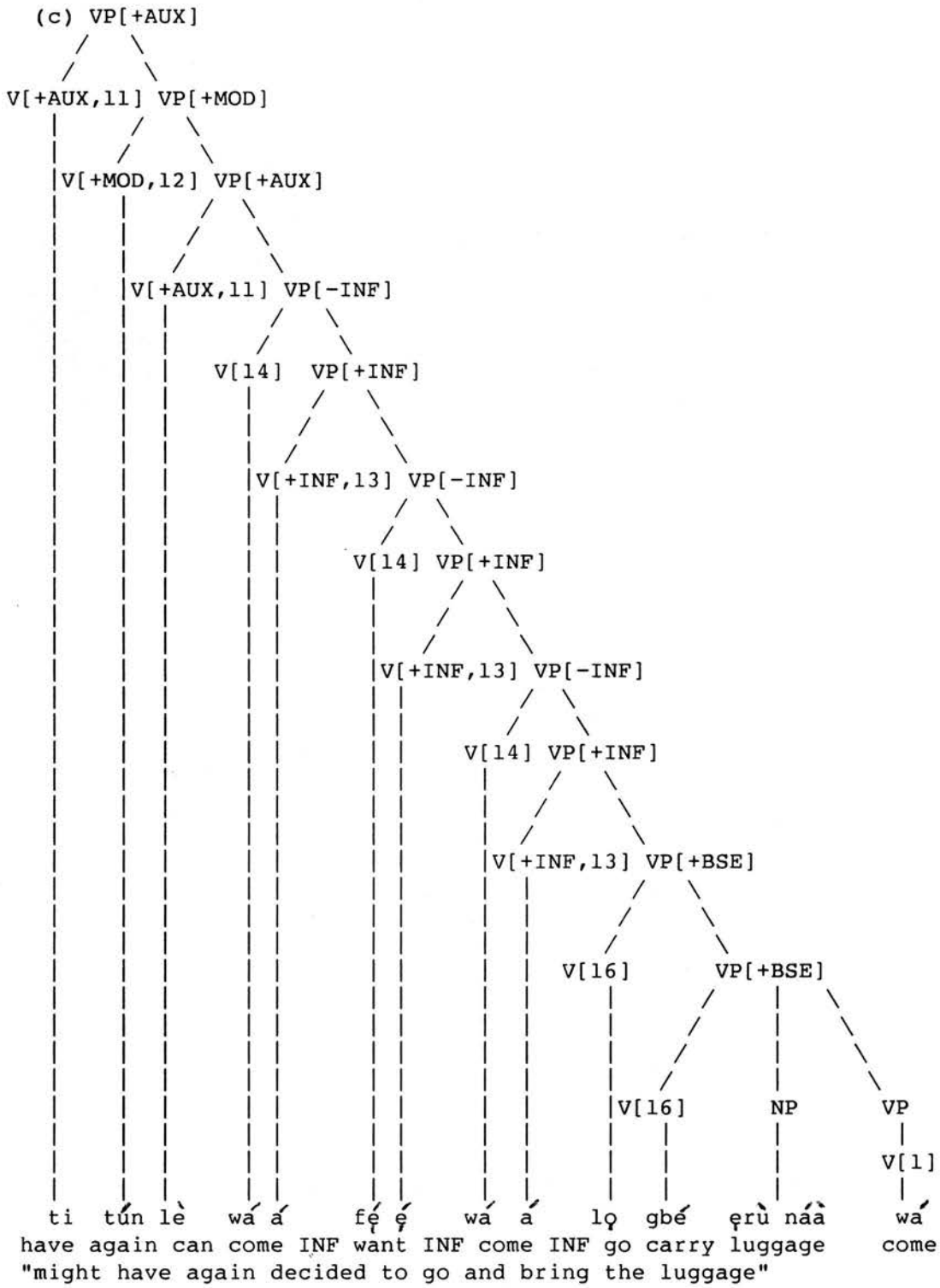


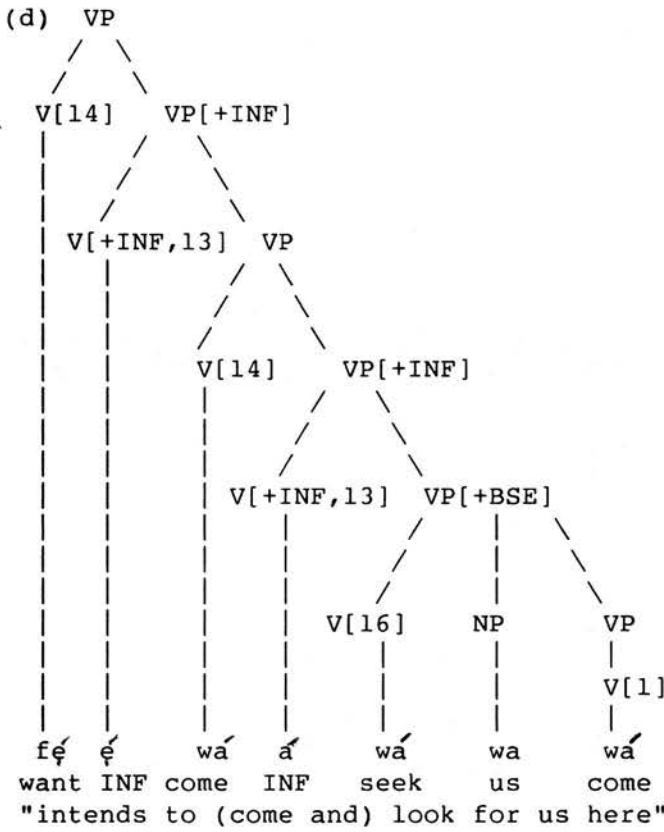
6.10. The Four Verbal Constructions Exemplified

The rules we have introduced in the chapter so far will assign the trees shown in (34) (c) and (d) to (25) (a) and (b) respectively. This is because, as we have stated earlier, (25) (a) and (b) contain not only serial verbs but also auxiliary verbs, modifying verbs and the infinitive verb phrases. For convenience, (25) (a) and (b) are reproduced here as (34) (a) and (b) respectively.

- (34) (a) Wɔ̃n ti tún lè wá á fɛ́ ɛ́ wá á lɔ̃ gbé ɛ̀rù náà wá
 they have again can come INF want INF come INF go
 carry luggage come
 "They might have again decided to go and bring the
 luggage"

- (b) Ó fɛ́ ɛ́ wá á wá wa wá
 he want INF come INF seek us come
 "He intends to (come and) look for us here"





6.11. Summary

In this chapter, we propose the rules that deal with auxiliary and modifying verbs. The similarity and the differences between the two verbs are noted. We then compare the modifying verb with both the serial verbs and the infinitive verb phrase.

6.12. Notes and References to Chapter 6

1. Familiarity with GPSG as proposed by Gazdar *et al.* (1985) is assumed in this chapter and the next. So, it is only the formalism of the grammar which is relevant to our discussion that will be discussed here. It should be noted, however, that unlike in Gazdar *et al.* (1985), both [INF] and [+BSE] are not used as VFORM values in this work. In addition, Dr. Ronald Cann's published and unpublished work and class lectures are used extensively in our discussion. For convenience, we have replaced all references to V'' , N'' etc. with VP, NP. In our analysis, both matrix and embedded VP's, NP's etc. are assigned one bar. Our use of S corresponds to V'' , the maximal projection of V. We will ignore the matter of semantic translation here, first, on the assumption that they are derived algorithmically from syntactic rules in the manner described by Klein and Sag (1982); and second, because they never contribute to determining string or tree admissibility.
2. This is taken from a class lecture
3. These items are discussed below.
4. The general LP Rule, [SUBCAT] < \sim [SUBCAT], introduced earlier, is assumed here and in subsequent rules.
5. See Awoyale (1983) for discussions on the infinitive verb phrase and the serial verb constructions. See Chapter 2 of this work for discussions on the auxiliary and the modifying verbs.

CHAPTER 7

SEQUENCE AND COOCCURRENCE BETWEEN THE YORUBA AUXILIARY VERBS

7.1. Introduction

Just as in several other languages of the world, the Yoruba auxiliary verbs can be stacked, that is, there can be more than one auxiliary verb in a structure. In this chapter, we shall propose an analysis, within the framework of GPSG, which accounts for the distribution of the auxiliary verbs discussed in this work. The following features would be useful in our analysis.

- (1) (a) +NEG(NEGATIVE), +BSE(BASE-FORM),
 +PERF(PERFECTIVE), +PROG(PROGRESSIVE),
 +HAB(HABITUAL), +INF(INFINITIVE),
 +ASS(ASSUMPTIVE)¹, +POT(POTENTIAL)²,
 +OBL(OBLIGATIVE)², +PH(PHASE),
 +MOD(MODIFYING), +FOC(FOCUS).
- (b) +AUX(AUXILIARY), +ASP(ASPECT),
 +ALT(ALTERNANT), +M(MODAL),

7.2. Comparison with Gazdar *et al.* (1981)

Although the following analysis has a great deal in common with Gazdar *et al.* (1981), it differs from their analysis in at least two ways.

First, some Yoruba auxiliary verbs have what is often referred to in the literature as variants. Here, we shall use the terms "primary" and "variant" to distinguish between an auxiliary verb and its variants. The relationship between these primaries and their variants is like the relationship between the English negative particle n't and the unstressed not. The two are often analysed differently because the latter "occurs in a variety of environments" in which the former "is barred", e.g. in tags like "can't we?", "*cannot we?" (Jeffer and Zwicky 1980:225).

Like n't and not, these primaries and their variants often occur in mutually exclusive environments. For this reason, we shall also analyse them differently in this work. We shall use the feature in (2) to distinguish these variants from their primaries.

$$(2) \begin{array}{l} [+ALT \ n] \\ n \in \{1, 2, 3\} \end{array}$$

We can simply write [+ALT] if our discussion concerns all the values in (2). As the typical occurrences of the auxiliary verbs are the primaries, we shall need (3) to specify the value that the features in (1) (a) will have if no other principle such as the ID rule causes this value to be different.

$$(3) \text{ FSD3: } [-ALT]$$

(3) allows us to simply write [+PROG] for [+PROG, -ALT].

Second, Gazdar *et al.*'s analysis represents a relation between what Owens (1984:11) calls "a verb of a certain lexical class (left side) and a verb of some morphological form (right side)". For instance, a V[+ASP] lexical class composed of say "be" and "have" on the left side of Gazdar *et al.*'s rule schema may have a past participle form of any class of verb on the right. In this chapter, unlike in Gazdar *et al.* (1981), all items to be discussed belong to Owen's (1984:10) "lexical class".

7.3. Other Rules

The following are the FCR's already introduced in Chapter 6 which we still need here:

$$(4) \begin{array}{ll} (a) & \text{FCR3: } [+PH] \supset [+AUX] \\ (b) & \text{FCR4: } [+NEG] \supset [+AUX] \\ (c) & \text{FCR5: } [+M] \supset [+AUX] \\ (d) & \text{FCR6: } [+ASP] \supset [+AUX] \end{array}$$

Other points to note are that the perfective³ cannot be preceded by any other verb. The same applies to all negative verbs except má' and kò which we assign the feature [+NEG, +ALT 1] and [+NEG, +ALT 3] respectively (see (8) below)). Also, no auxiliary verb can immediately precede⁴ either itself or its variants. The former two are shown in (5) while the latter is indicated in (6). The symbols "/" and "{" are used to indicate "or" i.e. "a/b" means "a or b".

$$(5) \text{ LPR1: } V < \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+PERF] \\ [+NEG] \\ [+NEG, +ALT_2] \end{array} \right\}$$

$$(6) \text{ LPR2 : } [+AUX, +@, +/-ALT] \nmid [+AUX, +@]$$

Other FCR's needed here are the following:

- (7) (a) FCR7 : [+HAB] \supset [+ASP]
 (b) FCR8 : [+PERF] \supset [+ASP]
 (c) FCR9 : [+PROG] \supset [+ASP]
 (d) FCR10: [+ASS] \supset [+M]
 (e) FCR11: [+OBL] \supset [+M]
 (f) FCR12: [+POT] \supset [+M]

Having stated the FCR's, LPR's and FSD's needed in the chapter, we can now give the examples of the VP's in which the [+V, -N] heads have the features in (1). The VP's are exemplified in (8).

(8) +NEG: the head verb of the VP is a negative verb:
 e.g. kò "not" in Olú kò lq "Olu didn't go".

+BSE: the head verb of the VP is a main verb: e.g.
rí "see" in rí Olú "see/saw Olu".

+PH: the head verb of the VP is a phase: e.g. ti
 "have/has/had" in ti lq "has gone".

+PERF: the head verb of the VP is a perfective: e.g.
 the HTS in Olú ú lq (Olu HTS go) "Olu goes/went".

+PROG: the head verb of the VP is a progressive:

e.g. ń "PROG" in ń lq "is going".

+HAB: the head verb of the VP is a habitual: e.g. máa ń "HAB" in máa ń lq "usually go/goes".

+INF: the head verb of the VP is an infinitive: e.g. INF in fé é lq (want INF go) "want to go".

+MOD: the head verb of the VP is a modifying verb: e.g. tètè "quickly" in tètè lq (quickly go) "go quickly".

+ASS: the head verb of the VP is an assumptive: e.g. yóò "will" in yóò lq "will go".

+POT: the head verb of the VP is a potential: e.g. lè "can/may" in lè lq "can go".

+OBL: the head verb of the VP is an obligative: e.g. gbòdò "must" in gbòdò lq "must go".

+AUX: the head verb of the VP is an auxiliary verb: e.g. ń "PROG" in ń lq "is going".

+ASP: the head verb of a VP is an aspect: e.g. máa ń "HAB" in máa ń lq "usually go".

+M: the head verb of the VP is a modal verb: e.g. lè "can/may" in lè lq "can go".

+ALT: the head verb of the VP is an alternant: e.g. [ass, +ALT 1] is máa "will" in ó máa lq "He will go".

Other [+ALT] features are:

[+PROG, +ALT 1] = máa "PROG" in máa lq
báyíí "start going now"

[+PH, +ALT 1] = tíí "has/have/had" in kò
tíí lq "he has not gone"

[+ASS, +ALT 2] = ńíí "will" in kò
ńíí lq "he will not go"

[+HAB, +ALT 1] = máa "HAB" in máa lq
wò ó "(go and) be visiting him"

[+HAB, +ALT 2] = ń "HAB" in ó lè ń
se é "He is able to do it"

[+NEG, +ALT 1] = má "not" in má lq
"do not go"

[+NEG, +ALT 2] = $\underline{k\acute{i}i}$ "not" in $\underline{k\acute{i}} \ \underline{\acute{i}}$
 $\underline{l\acute{o}}$ "he does not often go (there)"

[+NEG, +ALT 3] = $\underline{k\acute{o}}$ "not" in $\underline{Ol\acute{u}} \ \underline{k\acute{o}}$
 $\underline{n\acute{i}}$ "it is not Olu"

7.4. The Order of the Yoruba Auxiliary Verbs

In Chapter 6, we introduced the auxiliary verbs with a rule like (9):

(9) VP[+AUX] ---> H[n], (PP[ti]), VP[-INF]
 [SUBCAT] < ~[SUBCAT]

Following Gazdar *et al.* (1981:11), our "solution to the problem of getting the various auxiliary verbs in the right order is encapsulated in the following finite rule schema".

(10) VP[+x, +AUX] ---> H[n], (PP[ti]), VP[y, -INF]

where values for n , x and y are given in (11).

(11)	n	x	y	H[n] membership
	17	+ASP	-AUX	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \acute{n}/m\acute{a}a \text{ "HAB"} \\ \acute{n}/m\acute{a}a \text{ "PROG"} \end{array} \right\}$
	18	+ASP	+POT	maa n "HAB"
	19	+ASP	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -\text{NEG} \\ -\text{ASS, +ALT 2} \\ -\text{ASS} \end{array} \right\}$	The high tone syllable ⁵
	20	+PH	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{OBL} \\ +\text{POT} \\ +\text{HAB, +ALT 1} \\ +\text{ASS, +ALT 2} \end{array} \right\}$	tí ì "has"
	21	+PH	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{HAB} \\ +\text{ASS, +ALT 1} \\ +\text{OBL} \\ +\text{POT} \\ +\text{PROG} \end{array} \right\}$	ti "has"
	22	+M	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{PH} \\ +\text{PROG, +ALT 1} \\ +\text{HAB, +ALT 1} \\ +\text{POT} \end{array} \right\}$	m\acute{a}a/yóò "will"
	23	+M	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{PH} \\ +\text{POT} \\ +\text{PROG, +ALT 1} \\ +\text{HAB, +ALT 1} \end{array} \right\}$	gb\acute{o}d\acute{o} "must"
	24	+M	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{PROG, +ALT 1} \\ +\text{HAB, +ALT 1} \\ +\text{NEG, +ALT 1} \\ +\text{PH} \end{array} \right\}$	l\acute{e} "can/may"
	25	+M	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{POT} \\ +\text{HAB, +ALT 1} \\ +\text{PH, +ALT 1} \end{array} \right\}$	n\acute{í}í "will"
	26	+NEG	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{POT} \\ +\text{OBL} \\ +\text{PH, +ALT 1} \end{array} \right\}$	kò "not"
	27	+NEG	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{POT} \\ +\text{PH, +ALT 1} \\ +\text{HAB, +ALT 1} \end{array} \right\}$	m\acute{a} "not"
	28	+NEG	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{ASS} \\ +\text{PH, +ALT 1} \\ +\text{POT} \end{array} \right\}$	kì/kì í "not"
	29	+NEG	+FOC	k\acute{o} "not"

In (11), the first rule says that the value of n is 17 while that of x is [+ASP] and y is [-AUX]. It states further that VP[+ASP, +AUX] node may dominate a lexical head [SUBCAT 17] followed by an optional PP (see (10)) and a VP[-AUX, -INF] node. The type of lexical head that appears in a VP admitted by rule 17 may dominate the terminal symbols $\acute{n}/m\acute{a}a$ "PROG" and $\acute{n}/m\acute{a}a$ "HAB" which are

[+PROG, +ALT 1] and [+HAB, +ALT 1] respectively. Thus, (12) (a) and (b) are grammatical while (12) (c) and (d) are not.

- (12) (a) Ó' n' lɔ
 He is/He usually go
 "He is going/He usually goes"
- (b) Máa ta iwe'
 Start/keep sell book
 "Start/Keep selling books"
- (c) *Ó' n' ti lɔ
 He PROG PH go
 "He is has gone"
- (d) *Máa yóò ta iwe'
 Start/keep sell book
 "Start/Keep will selling books"

Rule 18 introduces the habitual marker máa n' and requires that if it occurs first in the VP introduced in (11), the only auxiliary verb that can follow it is the modal verb lè "can/may". The rule says (13) (a) is grammatical while (13) (b) and (c) are not.

- (13) (a) Ó' máa n' lè lɔ
 He HAB POT go
 "Often, he was able to go"
- (b) *Ó' máa n' ti lɔ
 He HAB PH go
 "Often, he has been able to go"
- (c) *Ó' máa n' yóò lɔ
 He HAB ASS go
 "Often, he will be able to go"

Rule 19 introduces the high tone syllable (HTS) which is the perfective marker and makes the first verb of the following VP, [-NEG], [-ASS] and [-ASS, +ALT 2]. LPR1 in (5) also ensures that the HTS cannot follow another verb in a VP.

Examples:

- (14) (a) Ồjò ó máa rợ
Rain HTS ASS fall
"It will rain"
- (b) *Ồjò ó yóò rợ
Rain HTS ASS fall
"It will rain"
- (c) Ồjò ó ti rợ
Rain HTS PH fall
"It has rained"
- (d) *Ồjò ó kò rợ
Rain HTS NEG fall
"It did not rain"

Rule 20 introduces the phase marker tí "has" and requires it to be followed only by either the obligative gbợdợ "must", the potential lè "can/may", the habitual máa or the assumptive níí "will". Assignment of grammaticality:

- (15) (a) Kò tí ì gbợdợ lợ
NEG PH OBL go
"He should not go yet"
- (b) Kò tí ì lè lợ
NEG PH POT go
"He could not have gone yet"
- (c) *Kò tí ì yóò lợ
NEG PH ASS go
"He would not have gone yet"
- (d) Kò tí ì níí lợ
NEG PH ASS go
"He would not have gone yet"

Rule 21 introduces the phase marker tí "has" and requires that it can be immediately followed only by either the habitual marker máa ń, the obligative

gbôdô "must", the potential lè "can/may", the assumptive máa "will" or the progressive ń. Assignment of grammaticality:

- (16) (a) Ó ti ń lq
He PH PROG go
"He has started going"
- (b) Ó ti lè lq
He PH POT go
"He might have gone"
- (c) *Ó ti yóò lq
He PH ASS go
"He has will go"
- (d) *Ó ti kò lq
He PH NEG go
"He has not gone"

Rule 22 introduces the modal verb yóò "will" and one of its variants máa "will" and makes sure that they can be followed only by either the phase marker ti "has", the progressive máa, the potential lè or the habitual marker máa.

- (17) (a) Olú yóò máa lq wò ó
Olu ASS HAB go look him
"Olu will be visiting him"
- (b) Olú yóò ti lq
Olu ASS PH go
"Olu would have gone"
- (c) *Olú yóò máa ń lq wò ó
Olu ASS HAB go look him
"Olu will be visiting him"
- (d) *Olú yóò kò lq
Olu ASS NEG go
"Olu did not go"

Rule 23 introduces the modal verb gbôdô "must" and makes the following

auxiliary verb to be either the phase markers ti/tí ì "has", the potential lè "can/may", the progressive máa or the habitual marker máa. Hence:

- (18) (a) Ó gbóddò ti lq
He OBL PH go
"He must have gone"
- (b) Kò gbóddò tí ì lq
NEG OBL PH go
"He could not have gone"
- (c) Ó gbóddò máa wò ó
You OBL HAB look it
"You must be looking at it"
- (d) *Kò gbóddò yóò lq
NEG OBL ASS go
"He must will go"
- (e) *Ó gbóddò n lq
He OBL PROG
"He must going"

Rule 24 introduces the modal verb lè "can/may". It requires the item to be followed by either the progressive máa, the habitual markers n'/máa, the negative verb má "not" or any of the phase markers ti/ti ì "has":

- (19) (a) Ó lè máa ʒe é lówò báyyíí
He POT PROG do it in hand now
"He may be doing it now"
- (b) Ó lè n' ʒe é
He POT HAB do it
"He is usually able to do it"
- (c) Ó lè má ʒe é
He POT NEG do it
"He may not do it"

(d) *^ó lè kò se é
 He POT NEG do it
 "He may not do it"

(e) *^ó lè gbó^ódò se é
 He POT OBL do it
 "He may must do it"

Rule 25 introduces the modal verb níí "will" and requires it to be followed by either the potential lè "can/may", the habitual máa or the phase marker tíí "has":

(20) (a) Kò níí tíí se é
 NEG ASS PH do it
 "He would not have done it"

(b) Kò níí máa ló wò ó
 NEG ASS HAB go look him
 "He will not be visiting him"

(c) *Kò níí gbó^ódò ló
 NEG ASS OBL go
 "He will not must go"

(d) *Kò níí tíí wò ó
 NEG ASS PH look it
 "He would not have looked at it"

Rule 26 introduces the negative verb kò "not" and requires it to be followed only by either the potential lè "can/may", the obligative gbó^ódò "must" or the phase marker tíí "has". LPR1 in (5) will not allow this negative verb to be preceded by any verb.

(21) (a) Kò tíí ló wò ó
 NEG PH look it
 "He has not looked at it"

- (b) *Kò tí wò ớ
NEG PH look it
"He has not looked at it"
- (c) Kò lè wò ớ
NEG POT look it
"He cannot look at it"
- (d) *Ớ gbqđq kò wò ớ
He OBL NEG look it
"He must not look at it"

Rule 27 introduces the negative verb má "not" and allows it to be followed by either the potential lè "can/may", the phase marker tí "has" or the habitual marker máa. LPR1 in (5) also allows it, unlike some of the other negative verbs, to either precede or follow another verb in a VP.

- (22) (a) Má tí i lq
NEG PH go
"Do not go yet"
- (b) Kò gbqđq má lè ợe é
NEG OBL NEG POT do it
"He must be able to do it"
- (c) *Kò lè má gbqđq ợe é
NEG POT NEG OBL do it
"He may must do it"
- (d) *Má ti lq
NEG PH go
"Do not has gone"

Rule 28 introduces the negative verb kì/kì "not" and makes sure that only the assumptive yóo "will" or the phase marker tí "has" or the potential lè "can/may" can follow it. LPR1 in (5) will not also allow it to be preceded by another verb in a VP.

- (23) (a) Kì yóò lq
NEG ASS go
"He will not go"
- (b) Kì í tí ì dé níwòyí
NEG PH come in now
"He was not used to arriving at this time"
- (c) *Kì í gbqđq lq
NEG OBL go
"Not must go"
- (d) Olú kì í lè ɕe é
Olu NEG POT do it
"Olu was not usually able to do it"
- (e) *Kì í ti ɕe é
NEG PH do it
"Not have do it"

Rule 29 introduces the negative verb kq "not" and requires it to be followed only by the focus marker ni. LPR1 in (5) does not disallow it from being preceded by another verb. An example of this is (24) (b) where it negates a sentence.

- (24) (a) Olú kq ni
Olu NEG FOC
"It is not Olu"
- (b) Ó lq kq ni ó sq
He_i go NEG FOC he_j say
"He did not say that he went"
- (c) *Olú kq ti ni
Olu NEG PH FOC
"It is not has Olu"

With (25), (26) and (27) as our S-expansion, serial verb expansion and a VP expansion rule respectively from Chapter 6, some of the rules in (11) taken together can generate the examples in (28) and (29) which give rise to the

structures in (30) and (31) respectively.

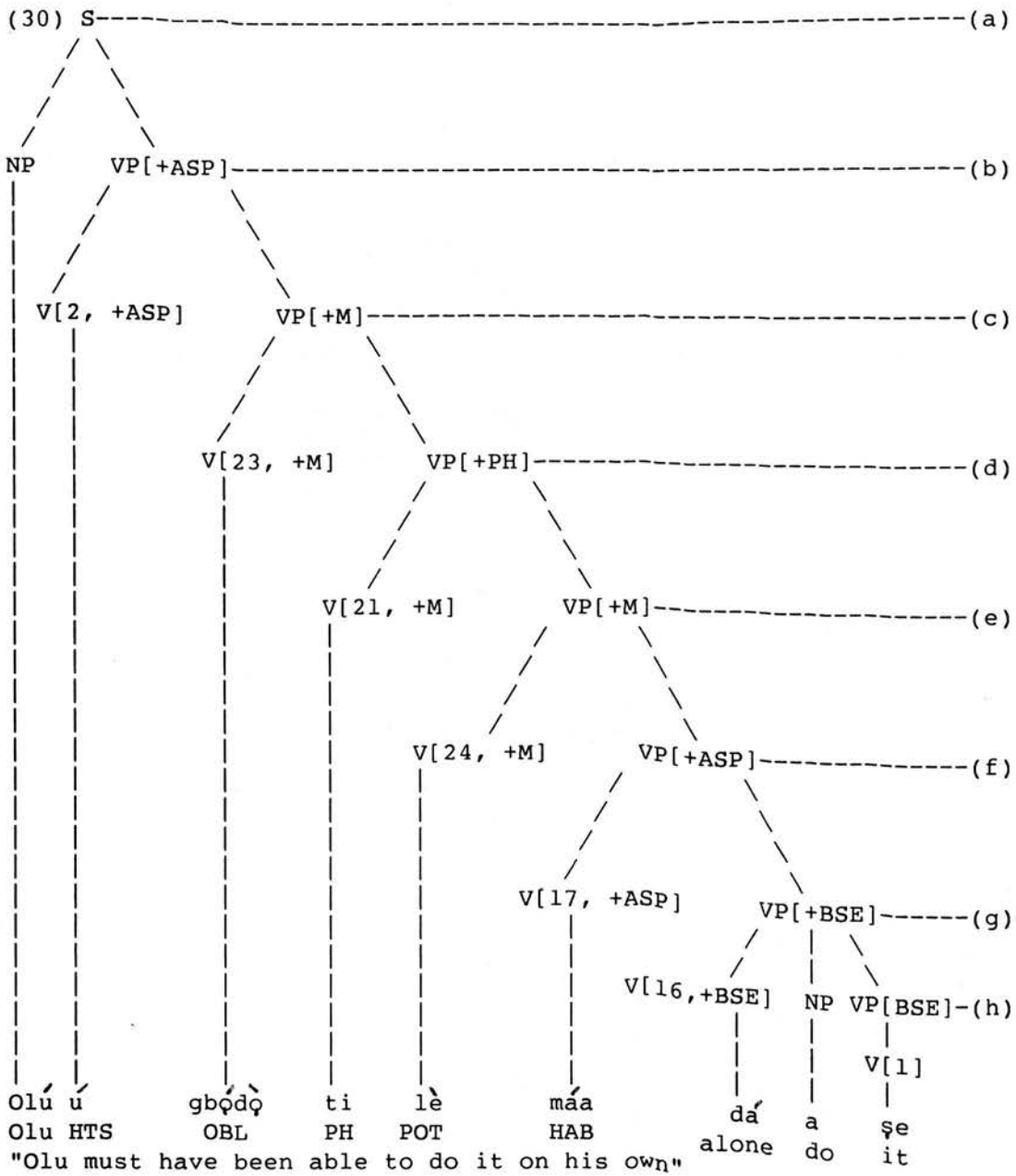
(25) S ---> NP, H[-SUBJ]

(26) VP[+BSE] ---> V[16], ([XP]), VP
 where XP = [-V, BAR2]

(27) VP[+BSE] ---> H[1]

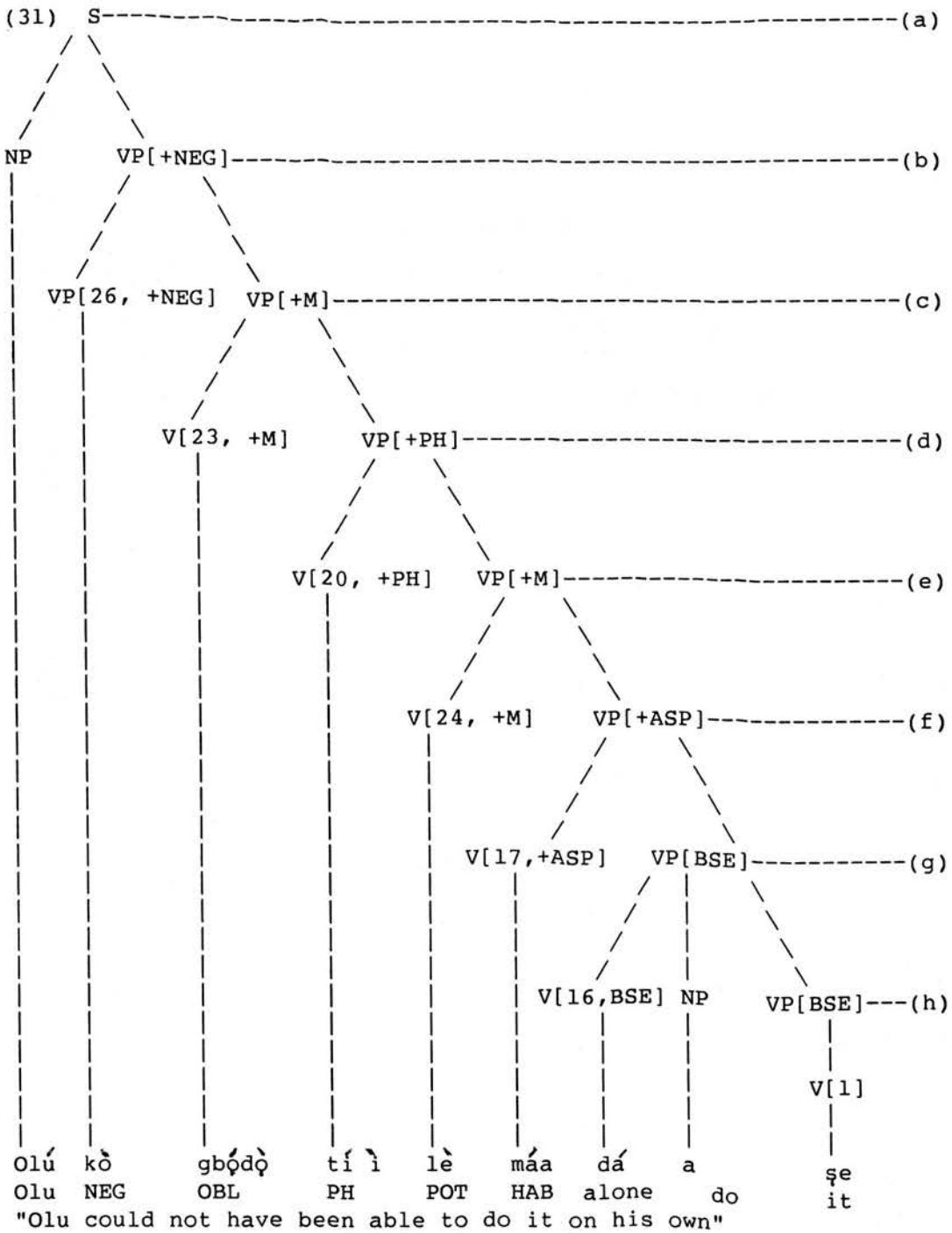
(28) Olú ń gbọ́dọ̀ tí ń lẹ́ máá ń ń a ẹ́
 Olu HTS OBL PH POT HAB alone do it
 "Olu must have been able to keep doing it on his own"

(29) Olú kò gbọ́dọ̀ tí ń lẹ́ máá ń ń a ẹ́
 Olu NEG OBL PH POT HAB alone do it
 "Olu could not have been able to do it on his own"



Note

- (a) is by (25)
 (b) is by rule 19 in (11)
 (c) is by rule 23 in (11)
 (d) is by rule 21 in (11)
 (e) is by rule 24 in (11)
 (f) is by rule 17 in (11)
 (g) is by rule 16 in (26)
 (h) is by rule 1 in (27)



Note

- (a) is by (25)
- (b) is by rule 26 in (11)
- (c) is by rule 23 in (11)
- (d) is by rule 20 in (11)
- (e) is by rule 24 in (11)
- (f) is by rule 17 in (11)
- (g) is by rule 16 in (26)

(h) is by rule 1 in (27)

7.5. Comparison with Some Previous Analyses

7.5.1. Introduction

Some of the elements classified in this work as auxiliary verbs have been listed as preverbs by Bamgbose (1966)** and as auxiliaries by Oke (1972)**. They also attempted to account for the order in which the elements could occur in a S. These writers' very useful contribution is, however, limited in at least two respects; the first relates to the status of the variants of these elements while the second concerns the problem of "exceptions" to the rules they propose for the cooccurrence restrictions among the elements.

In the remaining part of this chapter, we shall take a closer look at these two issues as they apply to each of the writers mentioned above. We shall also compare our analysis with each of theirs. We begin with Bamgbose's (1966) analysis.

7.5.2. Bamgbose (1966)

Bamgbose's (1966:74)** proposed sequence for the auxiliary verbs discussed in this work can be summarized as follows:

(32) I	II	III	IV
Negators	yóò "will"	gbọ́dọ́ "must"	All the others

In (32), IV is the nearest to the verb base form. Although Bamgbose touches upon the variants of the assumptive (níí "will" and má/máa which he translates as "be going to") and the variants of the negative verb (kì "not" and má "not") elsewhere in his work (Bamgbose 1966:69-73), he does not include them in (32).

We quite agree with Bamgbose (1966:74 Fn. 31) that any structure in which the negative verb má "not" occurs as a negator is an exception to the sequence in (32) but in addition, we notice that apart from má "not", both the negative verbs kò "not" and ko "not" also cannot occur in position I in (32) when they combine with yoo "will" in II. For instance, our analysis predicts that we cannot have the sequence *kò yoo "not will" (rule 26 in (11)) and *kó yoo "not will" (rule 29 in (11)). Our prediction here agrees with the facts of the language because the two combinations are also unacceptable. These two combinations would be allowed by Bamgbose's I and II in (32).

What applies to the negative verbs also applies to the assumptive. The ungrammatical structure *yoo gbòdò "will must" which is allowed by Bamgbose's sequence II and III in (32) is disallowed by our rule 22 in (11).

Finally, from Bamgbose's (1966:68-74) lists, one can deduce that the following auxiliary verbs could be classified under IV in (32):

- (33) ti/tí ì "has", n'/máa/máan' "HAB", lè "can/may"
n'/máa "PROG"

If we classify the items in (33) under IV in (32), the only prediction that could be made from such a classification is that all the sentences in (34) are correct. Our own analysis, on the other hand, agrees with the facts of the language in predicting that only some of the sentences in (34) are grammatical:

- (34) (a) *Kò ti lq Rule 26 in (11)
 I IV
 NEG PH go
 "He not have go"

- (b) *K^ó ti l^o Rule 29 in (11)
 I IV
 NEG PH go
 "He not have go"
- (c) *K^ì í ti l^o Rule 28 in (11)
 I IV
 NEG PH go
 "He not have go"
- (d) K^ò tí ì l^o Rule 26 in (11)
 I IV
 NEG PH go
 "He has not gone"
- (e) K^ì í tí ì l^o níwòyí Rule 28 in (11)
 I IV
 NEG PH go in now
 "He was not used to leaving at this time"
- (f) Y^óò lè ʃe é Rule 22 in (11)
 II IV
 ASS POT do it
 "He will be able to do it"
- (g) *Y^óò máa n ʃe é Rule 22 in (11)
 II IV
 ASS HAB do it
 "He will usually do it"
- (h) Ó gb^ód^ò lè ʃe é Rule 23 of (11)
 III IV
 He OBL POT do it
 "He must be able to do it"
- (i) *Ó gb^ód^ò máa n ʃe é Rule 23 in (11)
 III IV
 He OBL HAB do it
 "He must usually do it"

7.5.3. Oke (1972)

Oke (1972)** is the most recent attempt at stating the cooccurrence restrictions among the Yoruba auxiliary verbs. The table and rule in (35) are

the summary of the possible cluster he proposes for the auxiliary verbs discussed in this work.

(35) (a)

		PRE-EMPTIVES					MODAL
		<u>M</u>	<u>lè</u>	<u>máan</u>	<u>máa₁</u>	<u>ti</u>	<u>yóò</u>
		+	+	+	+	+	+
MODAL	<u>yóò</u>	+	+	+			
	<u>máa₁</u>	+	+	+			
PRE-EMPTIVES	<u>ti</u>	+	+	+	+		
	<u>máan</u>	+		+			
	<u>lè</u>	+	+			+	
	<u>M</u>	+					

(Oke 1972:140)

NOTATION

1. A square marked '+' indicates that co-occurrence of Aux elements is possible. The cluster will thus be constructed by tracing an element on the vertical axis to a square where '+' occurs and following this element by the one dominating the square on the horizontal axis (i.e. ti + máan).
2. A blank square indicate that no such co-occurrence is possible; e.g. there cannot be a sequence: lè + yóò.

(35) (b)

5	4	3	2	1
<u>yóò</u> "will"	<u>ti</u> "has"	<u>máan</u> "HAB"	<u>lè</u> "can"	<u>M</u> "PROG"
		<u>máa₁</u> "will"		

(Oke 1972:150)

1 is nearest to the verb base form

The problems with Oke's analysis are identical to the ones noted of Bamgbose (1966). These are the problems of "exceptions" and that of non-inclusion of all the auxiliary variants. The non-inclusion of the negative verb among the auxiliary verbs by Oke can even be traced to the problem of accounting for the variants of this verb within the grammar he sets up for the auxiliaries. According to him, the inclusion of the negative verb among the auxiliaries will force him to "include other negators like máa and kó" (Oke 1969:108-112). Má

"not", according to him, "is unlike any other element in distribution" (ibid).

As will be noted in rule 27 in (11), that the distribution of má "not" differs from those of the other auxiliary verbs does not mean that the item cannot be accounted for within a grammar set up for the auxiliary verbs. Other items not included in his analysis are listed in (36).

(36) tíí "has", n'/máa "HAB" and níí "will"

In not including them, he might have thought that they could be accounted for in the columns he sets up for the items in (37).

(37) ti "has", máa n' "HAB" and yóó "will"

However, as the rules in (11) clearly show, the distributions of the items in (36) differ from those in (37).

The rule in (38) used by Oke (1972:146) to account for the progressive n̄ and its variant máa cannot be extended to the items in (36) and (37).

(38) (a) If ANY of the elements preceding M̄ in the
new cluster normally selects the máa₂
variant, then M̄ ---> máa₂;
(b) otherwise, M̄ ---> n₁

As will be noted from our rule 17 in (11), the progressive n̄ shares the same distribution with its variant máa so, the rules in (38) together with (35) could be used to account for both of them but, as the other rules in (11) show, the items in (36) and (37) do not share the same distribution hence, they cannot be accounted for with the rules in (35) taken together with rules formulated in the same way as (38). For this reason, we are of the opinion that they should be analysed differently.

In giving the items different analyses, we do not lose sight of what the two have in common. Take the case of the phase markers ti and tii "has" for instance. While the former has an entry in the lexicon with the features {<N,->, <V,+>, <AUX,+>, <PH,+>, <ALT,->}, the latter has an entry {<N,->, <V,+>, <AUX,+> <PH,+>, <ALT,+>}. Thus, the two items have the features {<N,->, <V,+>, <AUX,+>, <PH,+>} which would allow for the generalizations that could be made about them.

The second problem with Oke's analysis is that of the "exceptions". Commenting on the "exceptions" noted in Oke's analysis, Oyelaran (1982a:2) states that the "counter examples to the cooccurrence restrictions proposed for the formatives call for a ... reconsideration of the category AUX in the language". Oke (1972:142) himself notes that his rules can account for only the combinations ti máa₁ "has will" and ti lè "has can/may" but not máa₂ ti "will has" and lè ti "can/may has" all of which are acceptable. All these combinations are accounted for by our rules 21 and 22 in (11).

7.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have accounted for the cooccurrence restrictions among the Yoruba auxiliary verbs. We have been able to demonstrate that any attempt to describe the distribution of the auxiliary verbs in a given sentence remains incomplete unless it takes the variants of these auxiliary verbs into consideration. The problem of "exceptions" noted in some of the previous proposals have been avoided in our analysis.

Notes and References to Chapter 7

1. This term is taken from Palmer (1986:62).
2. These terms are suggested by Awobuluyi (1967:253)**
3. The high tone syllable marking the perfective does not occur after the pronominals. See Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion of this syllable.
4. See Zwicky's (1986:133) immediate precedence rules.
5. The high tone syllable is present in items other than the item in 19. The reasons for not classifying the high tone syllable in 19 along with these other items are discussed in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we shall draw attention to some of the areas in which this work has contributions to make in the study of Yoruba grammar in particular and universal grammar in general.

8.1. Yoruba Grammar

8.1.1. The Distribution of the Auxiliary Verbs

The approach adopted in the analysis of the distribution of the Yoruba auxiliary verbs has made it possible to throw some light on the distribution of the variants of these verbs and to account for the "exceptions" noted in some previous analyses. It was noted in our review in Chapter 7 that the interest of linguists in the distribution of the auxiliary verbs rarely extended to their variants, largely because these variants share the same meaning with the verbs.

However, we have seen from (12) in Chapter 7 that except the progressive, no other auxiliary verb shares the same distribution with its variants.

8.1.2. The Auxiliary and Some Related Subclasses of Verb

The relationship between the auxiliary, the infinitive, the modifying and the serial verbs are not always discussed by Yoruba linguists. This often leads to confusion because when one of these verbs is being discussed, some of the others are used to exemplify it. In Chapter 6, we have been able to show what these subclasses of verb have in common and how they differ.

8.1.3. The Bibliography

The first linguistic work on Yoruba was published in 1852 by Samuel Ajayi Crowther. Since then, there have been a great number of books, articles and doctoral dissertations written on the language but the major problem concerns where to find them. As stated in the introduction to this work, some of the bibliographies available are compiled either on all African/Nigerian languages in which very few pages are devoted to Yoruba (i.e. Meier 1984; Ita 1971)** or on many Yoruba disciplines in which Yoruba language in Nigeria is just one (i.e. Baldwin and Baldwin 1976)**. The latter say nothing, and the former very little, about the Yoruba in diaspora.

To the Yoruba linguists, the bibliography in Appendix C of this work therefore will be an essential aid to their work and should serve as a starting point for a wide range of linguistic enquiry on the language.

8.2. Universal Grammar

8.2.1. The Category AUX

This work shows that the category Aux cannot be convincingly established for Yoruba language. Some of the points noted are:

- (i) The Yoruba auxiliary verbs do not take "a special form of the main verb - a participial or infinitive form" (Steele 1978:14) as complement as required of languages with category Aux
- (ii) No Yoruba auxiliary verb occurs rigidly in the initial or final position in S. The only auxiliary verb that always occurs in the second position in S is the high tone syllable but according to Thrane (1983:158), a language specific category cannot be established on the basis of one element.
- (iii) The auxiliary verbs cannot be clearly distinguished from the verb base form in Yoruba. This is quite unlike English where we have the NICE properties (i.e. Negation, Inversion, 'Code' and Emphatic Affirmation)

to distinguish the verb base form from the auxiliary.

- (iv) Tense which is a necessary condition for the establishment of category Aux is not available in the language.

Thus, the study supports the view that category AUX is not a "necessary, predicate-bound linguistic property, rather, it is a merely possible, significant, language-bound linguistic property" (Thrane 1983:14).

8.2.2. Syntactic Theory

Zwicky (1986:855) describes the Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar (GPSG) as "a generative, but nontransformational, theory of syntax". According to him,

GPSG is of recent vintage, less than a decade old, and English is its first language. It is no surprise, then, that the first book-length exposition of the theory, the 1985 volume by Gazdar, Pullum, and Sag, relies on English to illustrate the features of GPSG. Nevertheless, GPSG is intended as a ... universal, ... theory of syntax

Although Chapters 6 and 7 of this work do not go very far, they are able to show that GPSG can provide a framework for describing the syntax of what we now regard as one of its second languages, Yoruba. The importance of the auxiliary verbs to any grammar cannot be overemphasized (Chomsky 1957:38). The fact that GPSG can handle several difficult problems of the Yoruba auxiliary verbs left unsolved by some previous writers demonstrates the usefulness of the grammar for providing analyses for Yoruba syntax.

8.2.3. The Locative-Progressive Relationship

This study has made some contributions to the study of the locative-progressive connection. It has been suggested that progressive markers derive from four types of verbs:

- (a) copulas
 - (b) motional or postural verbs
 - (c) pro-verbs like "do" and
 - (d) progressive auxiliary verbs whose full lexical
origin is unknown
- (Heine and Reh 1984:122)

(d) is said to be very rare. Our discussion on the progressive in Chapter 3 shows that Yoruba is one of those few languages in which the progressive cannot be traced to any of (a), (b) and (c).

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I. Appendix A

I.I. Nigerian Administrative Areas with Predominantly Yoruba Speaking

Population

Administrative Area	Population ('000s)				Major constituent Yoruba Subgroups
	Area ('000 km)	1953	1962	1963	
LAGOS STATE	3.5	505	999	1444	
Badagry Division	0.7	66	115	122	Àwórì, Ègùn etc.
Èpè Division	1.7	60	105	135	Ìjẹ̀bú etc.
Ìkẹ̀jà Division	1.1	112	329	526	Àwórì, Ìjẹ̀bú [a].
Lagos	0.07	267	450	665	
ÒYÓ STATE	36.8	2432	3984	5209	
Ìbàdàn Division [b]	5.8	797	1115	1259	Òyó, Ìbàràpá.
Ifè Division	2.1	217	383	515	Ifè.
Ìlẹ̀sà Division	2.5	188	321	482	Ìjẹ̀sà.
Òşun Division [c]	6.0	853	1458	2068	Òyó, Igbolo, Igbómìnà.
Òyó Division [d]	22.1	378	706	885	Òyó.
ÒGÙN STATE	17.5	978	1437	1371	
Ègbá Division	5.5	397	340	345	Ègbádò, Kétu, Ìfọ̀yìn, Ohori, Àwórì.
Ìjẹ̀bú Division	5.0	249	410	240	Ìjẹ̀bú.
Rẹ̀mọ̀ Division	1.4	99	128	156	Ìjẹ̀bú (Rẹ̀mọ̀)
KWARA STATE [e]	16.4	509	905	1081	
Ìlọ̀rín Division [f]	6.9	399	774	901	Òyó, Igbolo, , Igbómìnà, Èkìtì.
Kabba Division	9.5	110	131	180	Yágba, Ijumu, Ikiri, Abinu Igbede.
ÒNĐÓ STATE	21.2	945	2188	2728	
Èkìtì Division [g]	5.4	327	1004	1418	Èkìtì.
Òkìtìpupa Division	4.0	150	221	276	Ìkálẹ̀, Ìlàjẹ̀.
Qwọ̀ Division [h]	4.8	225	402	497	Qwọ̀, Àkókó.

Sources: Nigeria Population Censuses, 1953, 1963; Okonjo (1968).

[a]. These areas now include most of Metropolitan Lagos, with an

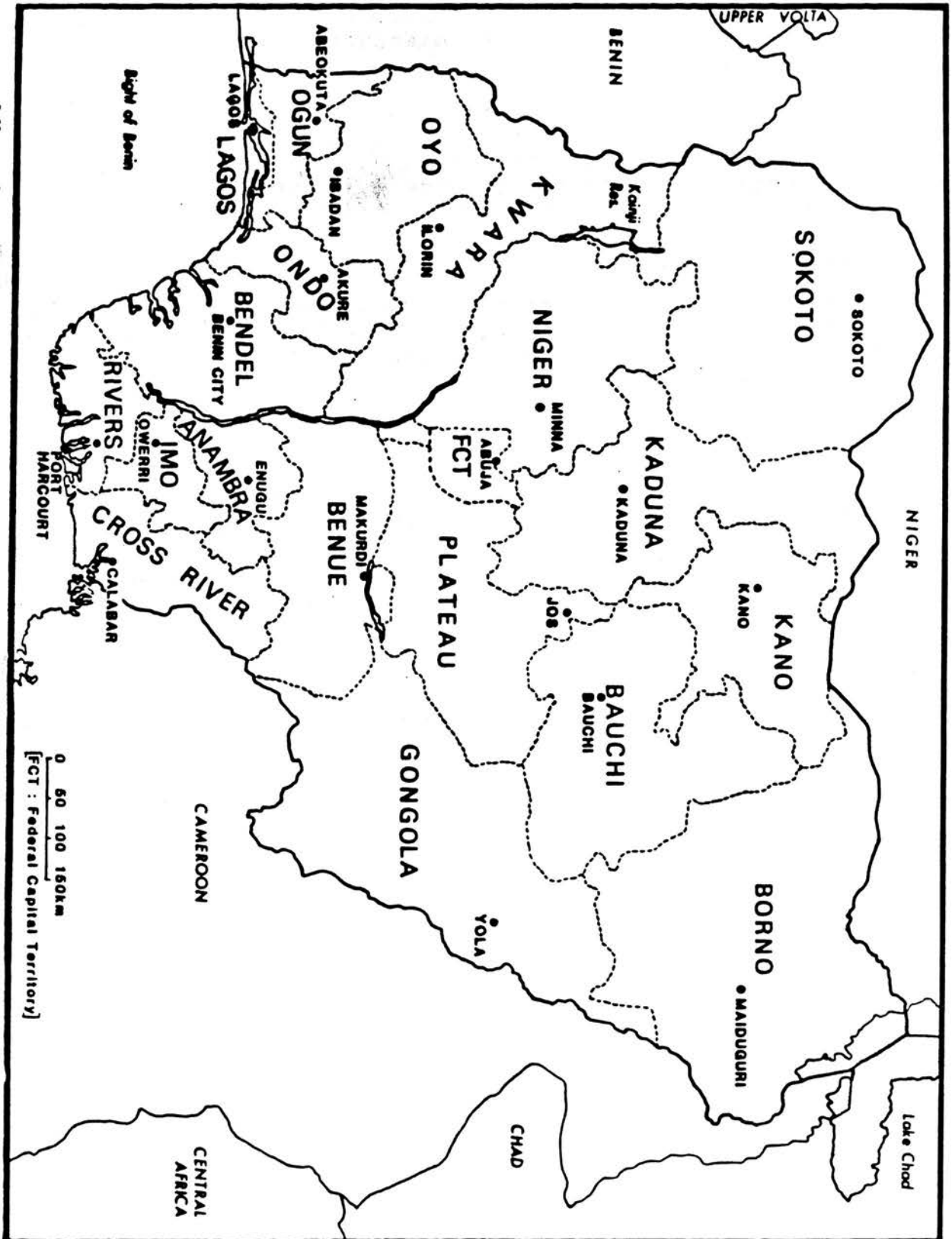
- extremely mixed population.
- [b]. Includes present Ìbàdàn city, Ìbàdàn and Ìbàràpá Division.
 - [c]. Includes Òṣun Central, North East, North West and South Divisions.
 - [d]. Includes Òyó North and Òyó South Divisions.
 - [e]. Figures relate only to predominantly Yoruba-Speaking areas of Kwara State, i.e. Ìlṣṣrìn and Kabba divisions.
 - [f]. Includes Ìlṣṣrìn, Òyún (Òfà) and Ìgbómìnà-Èkìtì Divisions.
 - [g]. Includes Ekiti North, South, West and Central Divisions and Akure Division.
 - [h]. Includes Òwò and Àkókó Divisions.

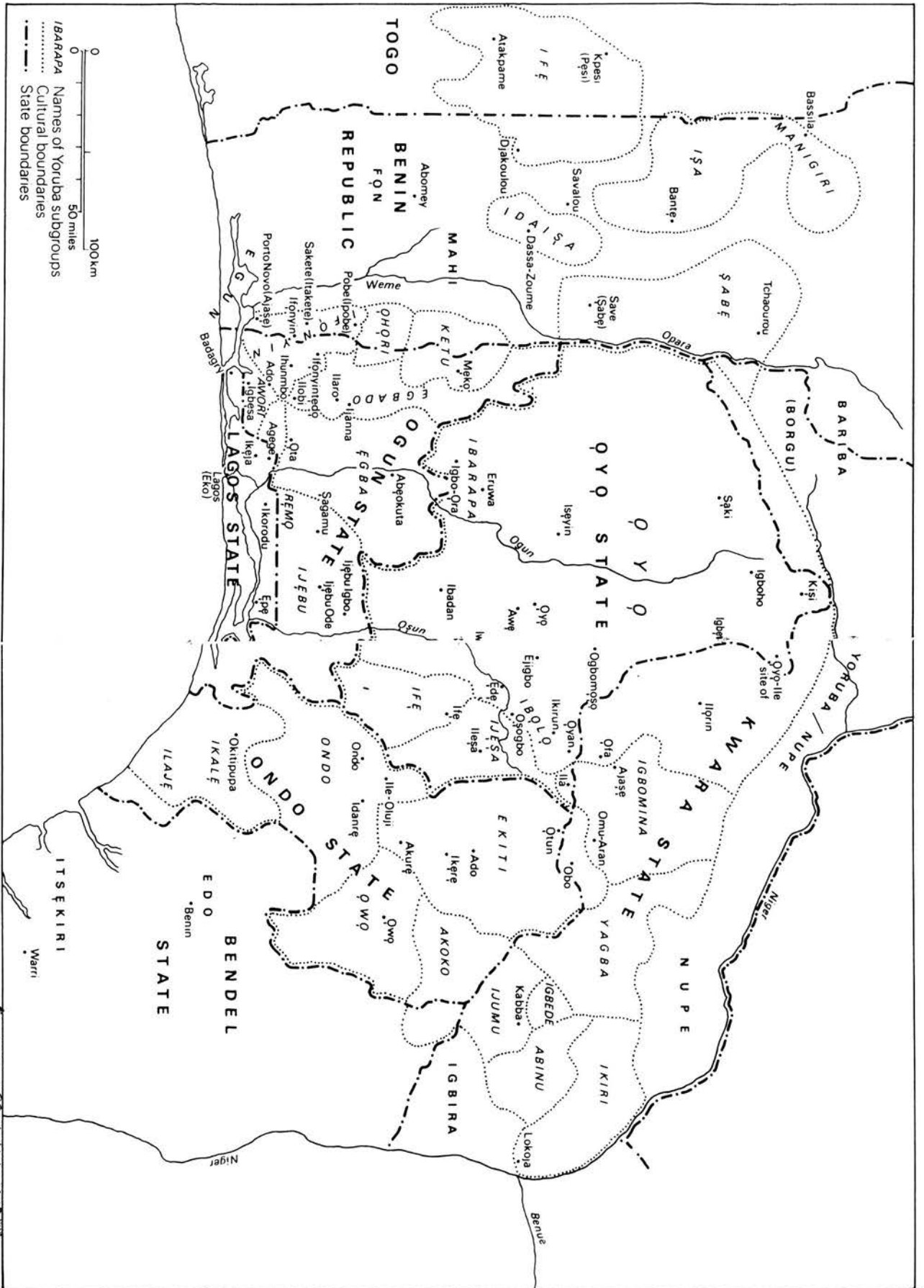
I.II. Yoruba-speaking Subgroups in Togo and Benin

SUBGROUP	POPULATION
"Ànàgò" (Awori, Olori, Ifoyin)	120,000.
Kétu	18,000.
Sabè	50,000.
Àjàṣé (Porto Novo)	30,000.
Idaisa	40,000.
Isa	14,000.
Manigiri	7,000.
Ifè	60,000.

Source: Igue and Yai (1973:9).

Nigeria





II. Appendix B: An Ifa Verse

	Ìbà Èṣù
	Èṣù Lǎǎlú,
	Èṣù dèná,
	Èṣù Nàná,
5	Mo júbà,
	Ó dàbò.
	Ilé bàbá tírẹ̀,
	Mo júbà,
	Ó dàbò.
10	Obalúáyé,
	Mo júbà,
	Ó dàbò.
	Ẹ̀yin Ọ̀sanyìn,
	Ẹ̀lẹ̀sẹ̀ kan,
15	Ẹ̀lẹ̀sẹ̀ mejì,
	Mo júbà,
	Ó dàbò.
	Ẹ̀sàngó, Káwòó, Kábíèsílẹ̀,
	Àkàkà yẹ̀rì yẹ̀rì,
20	Ó dàbò.
	Ọ̀mọ̀ Babaláwo,
	Ọ̀mọ̀ Ifá Ọ̀gún,
	Ẹ̀lẹ̀da rẹ̀,
25	Ọ̀mọ̀ Ọ̀gún,
	Oore yẹ̀yé ọ̀,
	Mo júbà,
	Ó dàbò ...
	I pay homage to Esu,
	Esu nicknamed Laalu,
	Esu, kinsman of Nana,
	I salute you,
5	I say good bye to you.
	I pay homage to your ancestors,
	I salute and pay homage to them,
	I say good by to them.
10	I salute Obaluaye,
	I salute and pay homage to you,
	I say good bye.
	You Osanyin
	With one leg
15	And those with two legs,
	I salute you and pay homage to you,
	I say good bye.
	Sango whose salute is Kawoo, the
	king whose greeting is Kabiyesile,
	The hard man of blazing fire,
20	I salute and pay homage to you,
	I say good bye.
	This son of Babalawo,
	Son of Ifa and Ogun,

25 I like to find the eledaa
 Of this son of Ogun,
 I salute Osun, Oore yeye,
 I salute you,
 I also say good bye ...

I. Appendix C:A Comprehensive Linguistic Bibliography of Yoruba

I.I. List of Journals and Periodicals

AEQUATORIA. Coquillatville:Mission Catholique.

AFRICA:JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN INSTITUTE. London:International African Institute.

AFRICA Roma:Rivista bimestrale di studii e documentazione.

AFRICAN AFFAIRS:THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL AFRICAN SOCIETY. London:The Royal African Institute. From 1901–1904 called *JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL AFRICAN SOCIETY*. London:Oxford University Press for the Royal African Institute.

AFRICAN HISTORICAL STUDIES. See *THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF AFRICAN HISTORICAL STUDIES*.

AFRICAN LANGUAGES:JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN INSTITUTE. London:International African Institute.

AFRICAN LANGUAGE REVIEW. Freetown:Department of Modern European and African Languages, Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone. From 1962–1966 called *SIERRA LEONE LANGUAGE REVIEW*.

AFRICAN LANGUAGE STUDIES. London:School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

AFRICANA MARBURGENSIA. Marburg, W. Germany:Marburg University.

AFRICAN NOTES. Ibadan, Nigeria:Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan.

AFRICAN RESEARCH BULLETIN. Exeter, Devon:African Research Limited.

AFRICANA RESEARCH BULLETIN. Freetown:Institute of African Studies, University of Sierra Leone.

AFRICAN STUDIES. Johannesburg:Witwatersrand University Press. Formerly called *BANTU STUDIES*.

AFRICAN STUDIES BULLETIN. Boston, Massachusetts:African Studies Association, Boston University.

THE AFRICAN STUDIES REVIEW:JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION. Los Angeles:University of California.

AFRICAN STUDIES REVIEW. Waltham, Massachusetts.

AFRICA QUARTERLY:JOURNAL OF THE INDIAN COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL RELATIONS. New Delhi, India:The Indian Council for Cultural Relations.

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AFRIKA SPECTRUM. Hamburg, W. Germany:Deutsche Zeitschrift für moderne Afrika-Forschung. Institut für Afrikakunde (mit Gesetzestexten).

AFRIKA UND UBERSEE SPRACHEN-KULTUREN. Berlin:Dietrich Reimer.

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST:JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST ASSOCIATION. Washington D.C.:American Anthropologist Association.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS. Bloomington, Indiana:Department of Anthropology, Indiana University.

ARAB JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE STUDIES. Khartoum:University Press.

ARCHIV ORIENTALNI. Praha, Czechoslovakia:Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

ASAWI BULLETIN. Kingston, Jamaica:The African Studies Association of the West Indies.

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BABEL INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF TRANSLATION:QUARTERLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO INFORMATION AND RESEARCH IN THE FIELD OF TRANSLATION. Paris:Federation Internationale des Traducteurs, with the assistance of UNESCO.

BA SHIRU:A JOURNAL OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE. Madison:Department of African Languages and Literature, University of Wisconsin.

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BEITRAGE ZUR KOLONIALFORSCHUNG, TAGUNGSBAND. Berlin:Sasserot.

THE BIBLE TRANSLATOR. London:United Bible Society.

BLACK ORPHEUS:A JOURNAL OF THE ARTS IN AFRICA. Lagos, Nigeria:Department of English, University of Lagos.

BOOKS FOR AFRICA:THE QUARTERLY BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON CHRISTIAN LITERATURE FOR AFRICA. London.

BULLETIN DES ETUDES AFRICAINES DE L'INALCO. Paris.

BULL IFAN. BULLETIN DE L'INSTITUTE FRANCAIS D'AFRIQUE NOIRE. Dakar, Senegal:University of Dakar.

BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES (BSOAS).
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CAHIERS D'ETUDES AFRICAINES:REVUE PUBLIEE AVEC LE CONCOUR DU CENTRE NATIONAL DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE. Paris:Ecole des Hautes en Sciences Sociales. Section des Sciences Economiques et Sociales. The Hague:Mouton.

CANADIAN JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS/LA REVUE CANADIENNE DE LINGUISTIQUE.
 Ontario, Canada:Department of Linguistics, University of Toronto.

CARIBBEAN QUARTERLY. Kingston, Jamaica:Department of Extra-Mural Studies, University of the West Indies.

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CIVILIZATIONS. Brussels:International Institute of Differing Civilizations.

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GENERAL LINGUISTICS. Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

GENEVA-AFRIQUE. Geneva: Institut Africain de Geneva.

HISTORIA: JOURNAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
Ibadan, Nigeria: Department of History, University of Ibadan.

L'HOMME: CAHIER D'ETHNOLOGIE, GEOGRAPHIE ET LINGUISTIQUE. Paris and Haye.

IBADAN: A JOURNAL PUBLISHED AT IBADAN UNIVERSITY. Ibadan: University Press.

IBADAN STUDIES IN ENGLISH. Ibadan, Nigeria: Department of English, University of Ibadan.

IFE AFRICAN STUDIES. Ife, Nigeria: Institute of African Studies, University of Ife.

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370. _____ (1986), "The Influence of English on Yoruba Language", in *ENGLISH IN CONTACT WITH OTHER LANGUAGES*, (see Wolfgang Viereck and Wolf-Dietrich Bald), pp. 533-545.

371. **Banjo, S.A.** (1938), "The Teaching of Yoruba in the Secondary Schools of Nigeria", *NIGERIA MAGAZINE* 13,1:58-69.
372. **Banton, M.** (1957), *WEST AFRICAN CITY: A STUDY OF TRIBAL LIFE IN FREETOWN*. London: Oxford University Press.

[Notes that one of the characteristics that divided the 'Christian Creole' from the 'Aku Muslim' society was that the former spoke English and Krio, while the latter spoke Yoruba.]
373. **Barbag-Stoll, Anna** (1983), *SOCIAL AND LINGUISTIC HISTORY OF NIGERIAN PIDGIN ENGLISH AS SPOKEN BY THE YORUBA, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ENGLISH DERIVED LEXICON*. Tubingen:Stauffenberg Verlag. See a review of the work by Joan M. Fayer in *WORD* (1985) 36,2:255-258.
374. **Barber, Karen** (1985), *YORUBA DUN UN SO* (Yoruba Course for Beginner.) Yale:University Press.
375. **Bargery, G.P.** (1944), "West African Language Study is Vital to any Educational Policy", *WEST AFRICAN REVIEW* 15, 201:51,59.
376. **Barreto, M. Amalia Pereira** (1977), *OS VODUNS DO MARANHÃO*. Rio de Janeiro:Grafica Olympia Editoria.

[Includes some Yoruba derived words in Brazilian Portuguese.]
377. **Bascom, W. R.** (1949), "Literary Styles in Yoruba Riddles", *JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN FOLKLORE* 62, 243:1-16.

[Includes the use of language in riddles.]
378. ____ (1951), "Yoruba in Cuba", *NIGERIA* 37:14-20.
379. ____ (1953), "Yoruba Acculturation in Cuba", in *LES AFRO-AMERICAINS, MEMOIRE 27, INSTITUT FRANCAIS D'AFRIQUE NOIRE*, (Dakar), pp. 163-167.

[Includes the discussion of the continuity of the Yoruba Language in Cuba.]
380. ____ (1969), *THE YORUBA OF THE SOUTHWESTERN NIGERIA*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. See a review of the work by Eva Gillies in *AFRICA* (1971) 41:66-67.
381. ____ (1971), "The Focus on Cuba Santeria", in *PEOPLES AND CULTURE OF THE CARIBBEAN*, edited by M. Horowitz, pp. 522-527. New York:Natural History Press.

[Claims that dialects of Yoruba are also in use in Trinidad, Jamaica (Nago), and Cuba (Lucumi). In *Trinidad and Cuba*,

their use is mainly within African-derived religious practice (Shango in Trinidad, Santeria in Cuba) but on both islands there are persons, descendants of 19th century migrants, who still have a fair command of Yoruba without being members of the Shango or Santeria religions.]

382. ____ (1976), "John Clarkes Unidentified Nago Dialect", *AFRICAN LANGUAGES* 2:14-18.

383. **Bastide, Roger** (1968), "Etat Actuel et Perspectives d'Avenir des Recherches Afro-Américaines". (The Current State and Future Perspectives in Afro-American Research.) *JOURNAL DE LA SOCIETE DES AMERICANISTES* 58:7-29.

[Reviews Afro-American Studies, i.e., Subjects, Scholars etc., and suggests programmes for further research.]

384. **Batey, Charles** (1953), "Language", in *AFRICAN EDUCATION*, pp. 79-84. London:Oxford University Press for the Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office.

[A study of educational policy and practice in British Tropical Africa.]

385. **Baudet, Marthe M.** (1981), "Identifying the African Grammatical Base of the Caribbean Creoles:A Typological Approach", in *HISTORICITY AND VARIATION IN CREOLE STUDIES*, edited by A. Highfield and A. Valdman, pp. 15-40. Ann Arbor:Karoma.

[Includes the discussion of the syntactic similarities between African Languages and Afro-American speech.]

386. **Baudin, Noel** (1884), *ESSAI DE GRAMMAIRE DE LANGUE YORUBA*. (Essays on the Grammar of Yoruba.) Lyon:Societe des Mission Africaines.

387. ____ (1885), *DICTIONNAIRE FRANCAIS - YORUBA ET YORUBA - FRANCAIS*. (Dictionary French-Yoruba and Yoruba-French.) Lyon:Seminaire des Mission Africaines.

388. ____ (1937), *A DICTIONARY OF THE YORUBA LANGUAGE*. (2nd Edition.) First Ed. 1913. Lagos:Oxford University Press.

389. **Baumann, H and D. Westermann** (1967), *LES PEUPLES ET LES CIVILIZATIONS EN AFRIQUE, SUIVI DE: LES LANGUES ET L'EDUCATION*. (Peoples and Cultures in Africa, followed by Languages and Education.) Paris:Payot.

[Translated from the original German.]

390. **Beier, U.** (1954), "The Talking Drums of the Yoruba", *AFRICAN MUSIC* 1,1:29-31.

[Shows how drum signals reproduce tones and glides of the language.]

391. _____ (1966), "Saving a Language", *AFRICA QUARTERLY* 5,4:324-338.

[Includes the use of Yoruba language by Fagunwa, a Yoruba novelist.]

392. **Bekoni, Oluropo** (1977), "Mechanism and Meaning in Yoruba Ijala", *BA SHIRU* 8,1:31-36.

393. **Bendix, H. Edward** (1983), "Sandhi Phenomena in Papiamentu, Other Creoles and African Languages: Can They Be Used to Reconstruct History?", in *STUDIES IN CARIBBEAN LANGUAGES*, edited by Lawrence D. Carrington in collaboration with Dennis R. Craig and Ramon Todd-Dandare, pp. 111-123. Trinidad: School of Caribbean Linguistics.

[Includes the discussion of vowel+vowel reduction in Yoruba, "the question of which of the two vowels to delete in fast tempo ... has been a problem for linguists describing that language for over a century", p. 120.]

394. **Bennet, Norman R.** (1967), "African Studies in the United State", *AFRICAN STUDIES BULLETIN* 10,1:62-105. See also *AFRICAN STUDIES BULLETIN* (1968) 11,1:83-127 and *AFRICAN STUDIES BULLETIN* (1969) 12,1:35-80.

[Languages discussed include Yoruba.]

395. **Bennet, P. and J.P. Sterk** (1977), "South Central Niger-Congo: A Reclassification", *STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS* 8,2:213-214.

396. **Berlin, Allan** (1978), "Syllabic Consonants", in *UNIVERSALS OF HUMAN LANGUAGE 2: PHONOLOGY*, edited by J.H. Greenberg, pp. 153-202. Stanford: University Press.

[Yoruba is one of the languages classified.]

397. **Berry, J.** (1953), "Problems in the Use of African Languages and Dialects in Education", in *African in LANGUAGES AND ENGLISH IN EDUCATION*, (see Unesco), pp. 41-48.

398. _____ (1959a), "The Origin of Krio Vocabulary", *SIERRA LEONE STUDIES* 12:298-307.

["Of Yoruba, little need be said here ... there are far more borrowings from Yoruba into Krio than from any other West African language", p. 302. Some examples of Yoruba loanwords are given.]

399. ____ (1959b), "Creole as a Language", *WEST AFRICA* (Sept.), 2207:745.

[“In nine months preliminary work for the projected dictionary of krio, I have so far identified words from 14 West African languages And, so far as I could make out, the process of borrowing still goes on: new words are introduced from Temne, Mende and Yoruba”, p. 745.]

400. ____ (1960a), "Some Preliminary Notes on Ada Personal Nomenclature", *AFRICAN LANGUAGE STUDIES* 1:117-184.

401. ____ (1960b), "Linguistic Research in West Africa", *WEST AFRICA* (July 23rd.), p. 829.

402. ____ (comp.) (1960c), *A DICTIONARY OF SIERRA LEONE KRIO*. Evanston, Illinois:Northwestern University.

[Includes some Yoruba loanwords.]

403. ____ (1970a), "A Note on the Prosodic Structure of Krio", *INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF AMERICAN LINGUISTICS* 36,4:266-267.

[Suggests that Krio is a tone language and presents a prosodic structure of Krio in which it is shown that Professor Peter Streven's claim that "the tonal system of Yoruba has disappeared (from Freetown Krio) but a sentence stress and intonation pattern broadly like that of Received Pronunciation is present" is not accurate.]

404. ____ (1970b), "A Note on Krio Tones", *AFRICAN LANGUAGE STUDIES* 11:60-63.

[Further comments on the Krio prosodies.]

405. ____ (1975), "Marking a Tone in the Krio Dictionary", in *AFRICAN THEMES:NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY STUDIES IN HONOR OF GWENDOLEN M. CARTER*, edited by Ibrahim Abu-Lughood, pp. 227-230. Evanston, Illinois:Program of African Studies, Northwestern University.

[Makes references to tones in Yoruba.]

406. Bethos, J. (1947), "Parente de la langue Yoruba de la Nigeria du sud et de la langue Adja de la region Cotiere du Dahomey et du Togo". (Relationship between the Language Yoruba of Southern Nigeria and the Language Adja of the Coast Region of Dahomey and Togo.) *NOTES AFRICAINES* 35:10-11.

407. ____ (1949), "La Parente des Yoruba aux Peuplades de Dahomey et Togo". (Relationship between Yoruba and the Tribes of Dahomey and Togo.) *AFRICA* 19,2:121-132.

[Includes the link between Yoruba, Adja, Ewe and Quatchi.]

408. **Bickerton, Derek** (1981), *ROOTS OF LANGUAGE*. Ann Arbor.

["Let us suppose that a very common structure of Caribbean Creoles is also attested for Yoruba and perhaps one or two other relatively minor languages To most substratomaniacs, the mere evidence of such similarities constitutes self-evident proof of the connection" p. 48.]

409. **Biobaku, S.O.** (1955), *LUGARD LECTURES 1:THE ORIGINS OF THE YORUBA*. Lagos:Federal Information Service.

[Traces the origin of the Yoruba to Egypt.]

410. ____ (1963), "African Studies in an African University", *MINERVA* 1,3:285-301.

[Discussions based on the Institute of African Studies, University of Ife, Nigeria, where Yoruba Language is one of the courses on the curriculum.]

411. ____ (1973), *SOURCES OF YORUBA HISTORY*. Oxford:Clarendon Press. See reviews of the work by A.H.M. Kirk-Greene in *AFRICA* (1976) 46,1:102 and Janet L. Stanley in *AFRICAN STUDIES REVIEW* (1974) 17,1:272-273.

[a "treatise on the fundamental sources that any historian of the Yoruba would need to consult. There are essays on traditional history as well as contemporary written sources; on proverbs, poetry, oriki, the Ifa cult, and the Yoruba language" (Kirk-Greene 1976:102).]

412. *BLACK NAMES IN YORUBA AND ARABIC* (n.d.). Brooklyn, New York:A.B.C. of Islam Publications.

413. **Blackhurst, Hector** in association with the International African Institute (1985), "Nigeria:Language", *AFRICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY* 1984, p. 108. Manchester:Manchester University Press.

[Includes some works written on the Yoruba language.]

414. ____ (1986), "Nigeria:Language and Linguistics", *AFRICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY* 1985, pp. 130-131. Manchester:University Press.

[Also includes works written on the Yoruba language.]

415. **Blansitt Jr., Edward L.** (1983), "Non-Constituent Connectives", in *ESSAYS IN HONOR OF CHARLES F. HOCKETT*. (Cornell Linguistics Contribution, 4), edited by Frederick B. Agard, Gerald Kelley, Adam Makkai and Valerie Baker Makkai. pp. 180-188. Leiden:Brill.

[Examples are taken from English, Yoruba and Spanish.]

416. **Bleek, W.H.I.** (1885), *THE LIBRARY OF SIR GEORGE GREY PHILOLOGY 1, PART 2*. London:Oxford University Press.

417. **Block, H.P.** (1959), "Annotations to Mr. Turner's *AFRICANISMS IN GULLAH DIALECTS*", *LINGUA* 3:306-321.

[Gullah is spoken by the Negro population of the coastal belt of South Carolina and Georgia. It contains many Yoruba words and resembles Yoruba both in form and structure.]

418. **Boethius, H.** (1984), "Description Preliminaire des Phonemes Segmentaux et Types de Syllable Ife", in *ETUDES LINGUISTIQUES PRELIMINAIRES EN QUELQUE S LANGUE DU TOGO*, (see Jacques Nicole), pp. 110-137.

419. **Bokamba, Eyamba G.** (1979), "Research and Publications in African linguistics at the University of Illinois, 1970-1979", *STUDIES IN LINGUISTIC SCIENCE* 9,2:200-206.

[Includes works written on the Yoruba language.]

420. **Bole-Richard, Remy** (1985), "Hypothese sur la genese de la nasalite Niger-Congo", *JOURNAL OF WEST AFRICAN LANGUAGES* 15,2:3-28.

[Includes the discussion of vocalic nasal in Proto-Yoruboid.]

421. **Bolinger, Dwight** (1978), "Intonation Across Languages", in *UNIVERSALS OF HUMAN LANGUAGE 2:PHONOLOGY*, edited by J.H. Greenberg, pp. 471-524. Stanford:Stanford University Press.

[Discusses Yoruba among other languages.]

422. **Bouche, P.B.** (1880), "Etude sur la langue Nago (Yoruba)". (The Study of the Language Nago (Yoruba)), *ET CAT ARCH DES PERES MISS*, pp. 505-553. Bar-le-Duc:Library de l'Oeuvre de St. Paul.

423. **Bowen, T.J.** (1885a), *A GRAMMAR AND DICTIONARY OF THE YORUBA LANGUAGE* (Smithsonian Contribution to Knowledge, 10). Washington:Smithsonian Institution.

424. _____ (1885b), "Yoruba Proverbs", *CHRISTIAN REVIEW* 33:508-528.

425. **Bradshaw, A.T.** (1966), "A list of Yoruba words in Krio", *SIERRA LEONE LANGUAGE REVIEW*, pp. 61-71.

[About 200 words are listed.]

426. Brann, C.M.B. (1975a), *LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION AND SOCIETY IN NIGERIA:A COMPARATIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY AND RESEARCH GUIDE*. Quebec:International Center for Research on Bilingualism/Centre International de Recherche sur la Bilinguisme.
 427. ____ (1975b), "Standardization des langues et education au Nigeria." (Language Standardization in Nigeria.) *AFRICAN LANGUAGES/LANGUES AFRICAINES* 1,1:204-224.
 428. ____ (1975c), "Language Influence on Pre-Adolescent Nigerian Children:A Typology", *INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC OF LANGUAGE*. 4:7-31.
 429. ____ (1976), "A Model for Educational Language Planning in Nigeria", *THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF APPLIED LINGUISTICS*, edited by G. Nickel, pp. 163-175. Hochshulverlag:Stuttgart.
 430. ____ (1977a), "Educational Language Planning in Nigeria:Problems and Prospects", *AFRICA* (Rome) 22,3:317-336.
 431. ____ (1977b), "The Role of Language Education in Nigeria's Educational Policy:Some Comments and References", *NIGERIAN LANGUAGE TEACHER* 2:33-37.
 432. ____ (1979a), "Multilingualism in Nigerian Education", in *SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDIES IN LANGUAGE CONTACT:METHOD AND CASES*. (Trends in Linguistic Studies Monograph, 6), edited by William Mackey and Jacob Ornstein, pp. 379-392. Paris:The Hague. New York:Mouton.
 433. ____ (1979b), "A Typology of Language Education in Nigeria", in *LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY:ANTHROPOLOGICAL ISSUES*, edited by William C. McCormack and Stephen A. Wurm, pp. 463-507. Paris:The Hague.
 434. ____ (1980), "Language Planning for Education in Nigeria:Some Demographic, Linguistic and Area Factors", *LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION IN NIGERIA 1:PROCEEDINGS OF THE LANGUAGE SYMPOSIUM OF NOVEMBER 1977, ORGANIZED BY THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE, FEDERAL MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, LAGOS, NIGERIA*, (see Ayo Bamgbose), pp. 47-61. Lagos, Nigeria:The National Language Centre.
 435. ____ (1983), *LANGUAGE POLICY, PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT IN AFRICA:A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY*. Quebec:International Center for Research in Bilingualism.
- [Cites some works written on the Yoruba Language.]
436. ____ (1985), "Language Policy, Planning and Management in

Nigeria:A Bird's Eye View", *SOCIOLINGUISTICS* 15,1:30-32.

437. **Brosnahan, L.F.** (1954), "Bilingualism and Society in Nigeria", in the *PROCEEDINGS OF THE 3RD ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE WEST AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH, MARCH 1954*, pp. 82-89.

438. ____ (1958), "English in Southern Nigeria", *ENGLISH STUDIES* 39,3:97-101.

439. ____ (1961), "Problems of Linguistic Inequivalence in Communication", *IBADAN* 1:23-35.

[Discusses the collective experience of people speaking different languages. Yoruba is one of the Languages discussed.]

440. ____ (ed.) (1962), *LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY:FOUR TALKS GIVEN FOR THE NIGERIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION IN FEBRUARY 1962*. Ibadan, Nigeria:University Press.

441. ____ (1963), "Some Aspects of the Linguistic Situation in Tropical Africa", *LINGUA* 12:54-65.

[Discusses the colonial policies and language; he also discusses nationalism and language in Nigeria among others.]

442. **Bryan, Patrick** (1971), "African Affinities:The Blacks of Latin America", *CARIBBEAN QUARTERLY* 17,3-4:45-52.

[Includes African survivals in Cuba and Brazil.]

443. **Bull, W.E.** (1963), *TIME, TENSE, AND THE VERB:A STUDY IN THEORETICAL AND APPLIED LINGUISTICS, WITH PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO SPANISH*. Berkeley and Los Angeles:University of California Press.

[The tense system of Yoruba is presented in the work.]

444. **Burrowes, Audrey** in collaboration with R. Allsopp (1983), "Barbadian Creole:Its Social History and Structure", in *STUDIES IN CARIBBEAN LANGUAGES*, edited by Lawrence D. Carrington in collaboration with Dennis R. Craig and Ramon Todd-Dandare, pp. 34-38. Trinidad:School of Caribbean linguistics.

[Includes how Bajan is related to some West African languages one of which is Yoruba.]

445. **Buse, Jurgen** (1968), *ERWACHSENENBILDUNG IN AFRIKA. T. 2:GHANA AND NIGERIA. (Adult Education in Africa. Part 2:Ghana and Nigeria. (Wissenschaftliche Schriftenreihe des BMZ, 11.)* Stuttgart:Evnst Klett.

446. **Cabrera, Lydia** (1957), *ANAGO VOCABULARIO LUCUMI EL YORUBA QUE SE HABLA EN CUBA*. (The Yoruba Spoken in Cuba.) La Habana:Ed.C.R.
447. **Callaway, H.** (1975), "Indigenous Education in Yoruba Society", in *CONFLICT AND HARMONY IN EDUCATION IN TROPICAL AFRICA*, edited by G. Brown and M. Hiskett, pp. 26-38. London:Allen Unwin.
448. **Capo, Houkpatian C.** (1982), "The Codification of Nigerian Languages", *JOLAN* 1:141-146.
449. ____ (1984), "Prolegomena to the Teaching of African Languages", *AFRICAN MARBURGENSIA* 17,2:22-39.

[Makes references to Yoruba, not only in Nigeria but also in Togo and Benin and he emphasizes the importance of decolonizing African languages.]
450. ____ (1985a), "Prelude to the Relationship between Gbe and Yoruboid", *JOLAN* 3:99-103.
451. ____ (1985b), "On the High Non-Expanded Vowels in Yoruboid", *STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS* 16,1:103-121.
452. **Carnochan, J.** (1964), "Pitch, Tone and Intonation in Yoruba", in *HONOUR OF DANIEL JONES: PAPERS CONTRIBUTED ON THE OCCASION OF HIS EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY, 12 SEPTEMBER 1961*, edited by D. Abercombie, D.B. Fry, P.A.D. MacCarthy, N.S. Scot and J.L.M. Trim, pp. 397-406. London:Longman.
453. **Carter, Hazel** (1983), "How to Be a Tone Language", in *STUDIES IN CARIBBEAN LINGUISTICS*, edited by Lawrence D. Carrington in collaboration with Dennis R. Craig and Ramon Todd-Dandare, pp. 90-111. Trinidad:School of Caribbean Linguistics.

[Uses Yoruba, Somali and Dinka as examples of languages which counter Pike's definition of tones. In Pike's definition, the use of tones is restricted to lexical items only.]
454. **Cartesen, Vicki** (1984), "Empty Category Principal Effect in Yoruba", *1984 MEETING PAPERS NO. 84-14*.

[Available from the African Studies Association, 25 Kinsey Hall, UCLA, Los Angeles CA 90024. Price:\$5.]
455. ____ (1985a), "Wh-Movement in Yoruba", *STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS, SUPPLEMENT* 9:39-44.
456. ____ (1985b), "Adjunct ECP Effects in Yoruba", *PROCEEDINGS OF THE NORTH EASTERN LINGUISTIC SOCIETY* 15:49-62.

457. **Cassidy, G. Frederic and R.B. Le Page** (1980), *DICTIONARY OF JAMAICAN ENGLISH*. Cambridge:University Press.

[Includes some Yoruba derived words in English Creole.]

458. **Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C.** (1974), "Yoruba Language", in *DICTIONARY CATALOG OF THE LIBRARY OF THE CENTER FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS, WASHINGTON, D.C. 4:Q-Z*, pp. 594-595. Boston, Massachusetts:G.K. Hall.

459. **Christophersen, P.** (1948), *BILINGUALISM:AN INAUGURAL LECTURE*. London:Methuen for the University College, Ibadan.

460. **Chuks-Orji, Ogonna** (1972), *NAMES FROM AFRICA:THEIR ORIGIN, MEANING AND PRONUNCIATION*, edited with a commentary by Keith E. Baird. Chicago:Johnson Publishing Inc.

461. **Chukunta, N.K.** (1978), "Education and National Integration in Africa:A Case Study of Nigeria", *AFRICAN STUDIES BULLETIN* 21,2:67-76.

[Calls for the adoption of ethnic integration as Nigeria's aim of education.]

462. **Church Missionary Society** (1849), *THE YORUBA PRIMER:IWE KINI ON NI FU AWON ARA EGBA ATI AWON ARA YORUBA*. (The Yoruba Primer:Part 1 for the Use of the Egba and the Yoruba.) London:C.M.S. Bookshop. Other ed. 1852 and 1853.

463. ____ (1868), *IWE EKINI TI EDE YORUBA:IRANLOWO FU KIKO EDE NA TI A N PE NI PRIMERI*. (Yoruba Language Part 1:Help to the Study of the Language Called Primer.) London:C.M.S. Bookshop.

464. ____ (1877), *IWE EKINI TI O NI KIKI*. (The First Reading Book.) London:C.M.S. Bookshop.

465. ____ (1913), *A DICTIONARY OF YORUBA LANGUAGE: PART 1, ENGLISH-YORUBA; PART 2, YORUBA-ENGLISH*. Lagos, Nigeria: C.M.S. Bookshop.

466. ____ (1914), *LANGUAGE STUDIES IN YORUBA*. Lagos, Nigeria: C.M.S. Bookshop.

467. ____ (1921a), *YORUBA READING SHEETS AND PICTURES*. London:C.M.S. Bookshop.

468. ____ (1921b), *IWE AYARA BI ASA LATI TETE MO YORUBA KA APA KINI*. (Yoruba Primer 1.) Lagos, Nigeria: C.M.S. Bookshop.

469. ____ (1921c), *IWE AYARA BI ASA LATI TETE MO YORUBA KA APA KEJI*. (Yoruba Primer 2.) Lagos, Nigeria:C.M.S Bookshop.
470. ____ (1931), *IKINI YORUBA ATI ORUKO YORUBA PELU ITUMO NI EDE GESI*. (Yoruba Salutation and Meaning in English.) London:C.M.S. Bookshop.
471. ____ (1937a), *IWE KIKA YORUBA APA KINI*. (Yoruba Readers, Part 1.) Lagos, Nigeria:C.M.S. Bookshop.
472. ____ (1937b), *IWE KIKA YORUBA APA KEJI*. (Yoruba Readers, Part 2.) Lagos, Nigeria:C.M.S. Bookshop.
473. ____ (1937c), *IWE KIKA YORUBA APA KETA*. (Yoruba Readers, Part 3.) Lagos, Nigeria:C.M.S. Bookshop.
474. ____ (1937d), *IWE KIKA YORUBA APA KERIN*. (Yoruba Readers, Part 4.) Lagos, Nigeria:C.M.S. Bookshop.
475. ____ (1937e), *IWE KIKA YORUBA APA KARUN*. (Yoruba Readers, Part 5.) Lagos, Nigeria:C.M.S. Bookshop.
476. ____ (1942a), *YORUBA SUPPLEMENTARY READERS, PART 1*. Lagos, Nigeria:C.M.S. Bookshop.
477. ____ (1942b), *YORUBA SUPPLEMENTARY READERS, PART 2*. Lagos, Nigeria:C.M.S. Bookshop.
478. ____ (1942c), *YORUBA SUPPLEMENTARY READERS, PART 3*. Lagos, Nigeria:C.M.S. Bookshop.
479. ____ (1947), *IWE KIKA FUN AWON AGBA*. (Yoruba Readers for the Adults.) Lagos, Nigeria:Ife Olu.
480. **Clapperton, H.** (1829), *JOURNAL OF THE SECOND EXPEDITION INTO THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA AND VOCABULARY OF THE FELLATAH TONGUE, YORUBA AND IBO*. London:Oxford University Press.
481. **Clarke, John** (1848), *SPECIMENS OF DIALECTS; SHORT VOCABULARIES OF LANGUAGES AND NOTES OF COUNTRIES AND CUSTOMS IN AFRICA*. Berwick-Upon-Tweed:Printed by Daniel Cameron.

[Some of the dialects identified are Yariba, Yebu, Aku, Eyo.]
482. **Clarke, Robert** (1843), *SIERRA LEONE:A DESCRIPTION OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE LIBERATED AFRICANS*. London:James Ridgway. Reprinted London:African Publication Society, 1969.

[Includes the description of early Oku (Yoruba), whose descendants constitute the bulk of the modern Creole

population.]

483. **Clayton, D. and Maggie Smales** (1985), "Nigeria", in their *BIBLIOGRAPHY OF POLICY-RELATED EDUCATION DOCUMENTS IN 28 SELECTED COUNTRIES IN AFRICA, ASIA AND PACIFIC*, pp. 163-194. Crown Copyright.
484. **Coker, H.E.** (1954), *GRAMMAR OF AFRICAN NAMES: AN OUTLINE GUIDE TO THE STUDY AND APPRECIATION OF AFRICAN NAMES SELECTED FROM AKAN, YORUBA, IBO, IJO AND EFIK-IBIBIO*. Lagos: Techno Literary Works. New ed. published by The Daily Times Of Nigeria, 1964.
485. **Coker, Increase** (n.d), "Yoruba Names", in his *GRAMMAR OF AFRICAN NAMES*, pp. 34-39. Lagos, Nigeria: Daily Times Publication.
486. **Cole, T. Desmond** (1971), "The History of African Linguistics up to 1945", in *CURRENT TRENDS IN LINGUISTICS 7: LINGUISTICS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA*, (see T.A. Sebeok), pp. 1-29.
487. **Coleman, James S.** (1958), "The Ibo and Yoruba Strands in Nigerian Nationalism", in his *NIGERIA: BACKGROUND TO NATIONALISM*, pp. 332-352. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

[Touches upon the formation of the Yoruba Language Society which was formed (a) to awaken and foster among the Yoruba people a pride in their mother tongue, (b) to encourage the study of Yoruba and (c) to give financial and moral support to the publication of works written in Yoruba etc. See also the classification of Nigerian languages on page 16.]
488. **Collison, Robert L.** (1971), "The Language of Africa South of the Sahara: Yoruba (Southern Nigeria and Dahomey)", in his *DICTIONARIES OF ENGLISH AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE TO BOTH GENERAL AND TECHNICAL DICTIONARIES WITH HISTORICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES AND REFERENCES*, pp. 145. New York: Hafner Publishing Company.
489. **Comhaire-Sylvain, Suzanne and Jean Comhaire-Sylvain** (1955), "Survivance africaines dans le vocabulaire religieux d'Haiti", *ETUDES DAHOMEENNES* 14:5-20.

[Includes some Yoruba derived words in Haitian French.]
490. **Comrie, Bernard** (1976), *ASPECT*. Cambridge: University Press.

[Yoruba is given as one of the examples of tenseless languages.]

491. _____ (1981), "The Formation of Relative Clauses", in *UNIVERSALS OF HUMAN THOUGHT:SOME AFRICAN EVIDENCE*, edited by Barbara Lloyd and John Gay, pp. 215-233. Cambridge:University Press.

[Yoruba is one of the Languages discussed.]

492. _____ (ed.) (1987), *THE WORLD'S MAJOR LANGUAGES*. London:Croom Helm.

[Languages discussed include Yoruba.]

493. **Conover, Helen F.** (Comp.) (1963), "Linguistics", in her *AFRICA, SOUTH OF THE SAHARA:A SELECTED, ANNOTATED LIST OF WRITINGS*, pp. 293-313. Washington:General Reference and Bibliography Division, Reference Department, Library of Congress.

494. **Cook, P.A.W.** (1953), "The Place of African Languages and of English in School Education and in Education out of School (e.g. in Fundamental Education and in University Extra-mural Work)", in *AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND ENGLISH IN EDUCATION*, (see Unesco), pp. 22-40.

495. **Cooley, Laurel** (1986), *BIBLIOGRAPHIC INDEX:A CUMULATIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BIBLIOGRAPHIES 1985, VOLUME 25*. H.W. Wilson.

[Includes bibliographies available on African languages including Yoruba.]

496. **Coomber, M.E. Ajayi** (1983), *A HANDBOOK OF KRIO*. Freetown:Fourah Bay College Bookshop.

[Includes some Yoruba derived words.]

497. **Corbett, G.G.** (1978), "Universals in the Syntax of Cardinal Numerals", *LINGUA* 46:355-368.

[Makes references to Yoruba numerals.]

498. **Courlander, Harold** (1976), *A TREASURY OF AFRO-AMERICAN FOLKLORE*. New York:Crown.

[Includes some Yoruba derived words in Afro-American Spanish speech.]

499. **Courtenay, Karen Ruth** (1968), "A Generative Phonology of Yoruba." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California.

500. _____ (1971), "Yoruba 'a Terraced Level' Language with Three Tonemes", *STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS* 2:229-235.

501. _____ (1976), "Ideophone Defined as a Phonological Class:The

Case of Yoruba", *PAPERS IN HONOR OF W.E. WELMERS. STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS, SUPPLEMENT* 5:13-26.

502. **Crossey, J.M.D.** (1966a), "African Studies at the University of Ibadan:Current Research Projects and Recent Publications, Faculties of Arts and Social Sciences," *AFRICAN NOTES, SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT* 3,2:i-xxvi.
503. ____ (1966b), "African Studies at the University of Ibadan 1957-1966:Research Projects and Publications, Faculty of Arts", *AFRICAN NOTES, SPECIAL SUPPLEMENTS* 4,1:i-xxxv.
504. **Crowther, S.A.** (1843a), *A DICTIONARY OF YORUBA*. London:C.M.S. Bookshop.
505. ____ (1843b), *VOCABULARY OF YORUBA LANGUAGE, PART 1: ENGLISH-YORUBA; PART 2:YORUBA-ENGLISH; TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED GRAMMATICAL ELEMENTS OF THE YORUBA LANGUAGE*. London:C.M.S. Bookshop.
506. ____ (1852a), *GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY OF THE YORUBA LANGUAGE WITH INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY O.E. VIDAL*. London:Seeleys.
507. ____ (1852b), *GRAMMAR OF THE YORUBA LANGUAGE*. London:Seeleys.
508. ____ (1856), *VOCABULARY AND DICTIONARY OF THE YORUBA LANGUAGE*. London:W.M. Watts.
509. **Cruickshank, J. Graham** (1914), '*BLACK TALK:BEING NOTES ON NEGRO DIALECTS IN BRITISH GUIANA*'. Damerara:The 'Avgesy' Company.

[Topics discussed include "How the African lost his Tongue" and "African Traits in Negro English". According to him, Yoruba and Kongo are the two languages the liberated Africans keep. "A few take a pride in the way they talk Yoruba or Kongo. If they were to go to Kongo-land or the Yoruba country to-morrow, they would find themselves - lingually - quite at home", Pg 5.]
510. ____ (1917), "Among the Aku (Yoruba) in Canal No. 1, West Bank Damerara River", *TIMEHRI 3RD SERIES* 4:70-82.
511. **Curtin, Phillip D. and Jan Vansina** (1964), "Koelle's Linguistic Inventory", *JOURNAL OF AFRICAN HISTORY* 5,2:191-207.

[Yoruba list includes Otta, Egba, Ijesha, Yegba, Ekiti, Bunu, Aworo, Ijebu, Ife, Ondo, Itsekiri.]
512. **Cust, R.N.** (1883a), "Yariba", in his *A SKETCH OF THE MODERN LANGUAGES OF AFRICA 1, ACCOMPANIED BY A LANGUAGE MAP PREPARED BY E.G. RAVENSTEIN*, p. 205-207.

London:Trubner.

513. ____ (1883b), "Appendix C. Bibliographical:Yariba", in his *A SKETCH OF THE MODERN LANGUAGES OF AFRICA 2, ACCOMPANIED BY A LANGUAGE MAP PREPARED BY E.G. RAVENSTEIN*, p. 483. London:Trubner.
514. **Cyffer, Norbert** (1977), "Sprachplanung in Nigeria." (Language Planning in Nigeria.) *AFRIKA SPECTRUM* 77,3:239-262.
515. **Dada, Ayorinde** (1985), "The New Language Policy in Nigeria:Its Problems and Its Chances of Success", in *LANGUAGE OF INEQUALITY*, edited by N. Wolfson and J. Manes, pp. 285-293. Berlin:Mouton.
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[Yoruba is one of the languages used in the cross classificational analysis.]
517. **Dakubu, M.E. Kropp** (1982), "On the Characterization of Stress in West African Tone Languages", *AFRIKA UND UBERSEE* 64,2:227-236.
518. **Dalby, T.D.P.** (1962), "Language Distribution in Sierra Leone", *SIERRA LEONE LANGUAGE REVIEW* 1:62-67.

[Yoruba/Aku is one of the languages identified.]
519. ____ (1963), *LANGUAGE MAP OF AFRICA AND ADJACENT ISLANDS*. London:International African Institute.
520. ____ (1966a), "Provisional Identification of Languages in the Polyglotta Africana", *SIERRA LEONE LANGUAGE REVIEW* 3:83-90.

[Yoruba list includes Egbado, Egba, Ijesha, Oyo, Yagba, Bunu, Jumu, Aworo, Ijebu, Ife, Ondo, Jekri.]
521. ____ (1966b), "Levels of Relationship in the Classification of African Languages", in *AFRICAN LANGUAGE REVIEW* 7:171-179.
522. ____ (1969), "Further Indigenous Scripts of West Africa:Manding, Wolof and Fula Alphabets and Yoruba 'Holy' Writing", *AFRICAN LANGUAGE STUDIES* 10:161-181.
523. ____ (1970a), "A Referential Approach to the Classification of African Languages", in *PAPERS IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS*, edited by Chin-wu Kim and Herbert Stahlke, pp. 17-33. Edmonton:Linguistic Research Inc.

[Yoruba is one of the languages used in the cross-classificational analysis.]

524. ____ (1970b), "The Place of Africa and Afro-America in History of English Language", *AFRICAN LANGUAGE REVIEW* 9:280-297.
525. ____ (ed.) (1971), *LANGUAGE AND HISTORY IN AFRICA: A VOLUME OF COLLECTED PAPERS PRESENTED TO THE SEMINAR ON LANGUAGE AND HISTORY IN AFRICA HELD AT THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, 1967-1969*. London: Frank Cass. See reviews of the work by Adeboye Babalola in *JOURNAL OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NIGERIA* (1971) 6,1:117-119 and Pierre Alexandre in *AFRICA* (1973) 43,1:81-82.
526. ____ (1978), "The Liberation of African Languages", *INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN INSTITUTE BULLETIN* 48,4:1-2.
527. ____ (1981), "Memorandum on the Transcription and Harmonization of African Languages", in *AFRICAN LANGUAGES: PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF EXPERTS ON TRANSCRIPTION AND HARMONIZATION OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES, NIAMEY (NIGER) 17-21 1987*, (see Unesco), pp. 95-99.
528. ____ (1986), "African Languages", in *AFRICA: SOUTH OF THE SAHARA 1987*, pp. 136-139. London: Europa Publications.

[Yoruba is classified as one of the major languages of Niger-Congo. See the same topic in the following previous editions: 1973, pp. 26-27; 1974, pp. 26-27; 1975, pp. 28-29; 1976-77, pp. 28-29; 1977-78, pp. 30-31; 1978-79, pp. 42-45; 1979-80, pp. 42-45; 1980-81, pp. 42-45; 1981-82, pp. 42-45; 1982-83, pp. 42-45; 1983-84, pp. 124-127 and 1984-85, pp. 124-127.]

529. **Dalegan, I.A.** (1958a), *JUNIOR ENGLISH-YORUBA HOME TEACHER*. Ibadan, Nigeria: Odupolu Printing Works.
530. ____ (1958b), *SENIOR ENGLISH-YORUBA HOME TEACHER*. Ibadan, Nigeria: New Age Printers.
531. **Dalphinis, Morgan** (1985), "Various Approaches to the Study of Creole Languages: The Case of African Influences", in his *CARIBBEAN AND AFRICAN LANGUAGES: SOCIAL HISTORY, LANGUAGE USE, LITERATURE AND EDUCATION*, pp. 85-96. London: Karia Press.

[The influence of Yoruba on Creole is discussed extensively.]

532. **Danglish, G.M.** (1982), *A DICTIONARY OF THE AFRICANISMS: CONTRIBUTION OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN*

TO ENGLISH LANGUAGE. Greenwood Press. See reviews of the work by Baruch Elimelech in *JOURNAL OF WEST AFRICAN LANGUAGES* (1985) 15,1:111-116 and Tony Naden in *JOURNAL OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS* (1985) 8,2:210-218.

[The contribution of Yoruba is noted.]

533. **Darch, Colin and Alice Nkhoma-Wamunza** (1985), *AFRICAN INDEX TO CONTINENTAL PERIODICAL LITERATURE 6:COVERING 1981*. Oxford:Hans Zell Publishers, an imprint of K.G. Saur Verlag.

[Published annually and contains "scholarly and semi-scholarly journals published but not necessarily printed within African continent with sources and their publishers".]

534. **da Silva, Edson Nunes** (1958), *INTRODUCAO AO ESTUDO GRAMMATICAL DA LINGUA*. Bahia.

535. **da Silva, Guillaume** (1969), "Formules de salutation Yoruba ou nago en usage au Dahomey." (The greeting forms used by the Yoruba in Dahomey.) *ETUDES DAHOMEENNES* 13:27-33.

536. **Daum, D.** (1974), "The National Language Question", *WEST AFRICAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION* 18,3:358-362.

537. **Davies, H.O.** (1961), "Choice of a National Language", in his *NIGERIA:THE PROSPECT FOR DEMOCRACY*, pp. 106-108. London:Weidenfield and Nicolson.

[Compares the problems of the Nigerian lingua franca with those of Ceylon (SriLanka) and Pakistan and concludes that "It is in the interest of mutual understanding and of the stability of the Federation of Nigeria that encouragement should be given in the three regions (now nineteen states) for the free study of at least three principal languages in order to give future Nigerians a working knowledge of each", p. 108.]

538. **Davison, Rod** (1986), "The Pragmatic Morpheme 'ni' in Yoruba", *PAPERS FROM THE REGIONAL MEETINGS OF THE CHICAGO LINGUISTICS SOCIETY* 22,2:105-114.

539. **De Gaye, A. Jules and W.S. Beecroft** (1922), *YORUBA GRAMMAR*. London:Routledge and Kegan Paul. Further eds 1951, 1959, 1964. See a review of the work by Lloyd A. James in *BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES* (1925) 3:168.

540. ____ (1923), *YORUBA COMPOSITION*. London:Kegan Paul. Further ed. 1951. See a review of the work by Lloyd

- A. James in *BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES* (1925) 3:168.
541. **Deighton F.C.** (1939), "Origins of Creole Plant Names", *SIERRA LEONE STUDIES* 22:29-32.
- [Includes (a). Pure Yoruba, i.e. Afumo [sic], Awusa, Lali. (b). Corrupted Yoruba, i.e. Aje-Ofonla (from Aje-kofole 'witch cannot fly into the house'). (c). Yoruba names of which the translation is also current, i.e. Aje-fawo 'eat and lick it up', Jokoje 'sit quiet'.]
542. **Delano, I.O.** (1950), *A DICTIONARY OF THE YORUBA LANGUAGE*. London: Oxford University Press.
543. ____ (1958a), *ATUMO EDE YORUBA*. (Yoruba Dictionary.) London:Oxford University Press. See a review of the work by E. Rowlands in *BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES* 22:181-182.
544. ____ (1958b), *A SHORT YORUBA GRAMMAR AND DICTIONARY*. London:Oxford University Press.
545. ____ (1960), *AGBEKA YORUBA:APPROPRIATE WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS IN YORUBA*. London:Oxford University Press.
546. ____ (1963), *CONVERSATION IN YORUBA AND ENGLISH*. New York: Frederick A Praeger.
547. ____ (1965), *A MODERN YORUBA GRAMMAR*. London:Thomas Nelson and Sons. See a review of the work by A. Bamgbose in *WEST AFRICAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION* (1966) 10,1:45-47.
548. ____ (1966), *OWE LESIN ORO:YORUBA PROVERBS, AND THEIR MEANING AND USAGE*. Ibadan:Oxford University Press.
549. ____ (1969a), *A DICTIONARY OF YORUBA MONOSYLLABIC VERBS 1*. Ife, Nigeria:Institute of African Studies, University of Ife.
550. ____ (1969b), *A DICTIONARY OF MONOSYLLABIC VERBS 2*. Ife, Nigeria:Institute of African Studies, University Of Ife, Nigeria. See reviews of the two volumes by R.G. Armstrong in *BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES* (1971) 34:212. and O. Awobuluyi in *NIGERIA MAGAZINE* (1970) 106:225-227.
551. **Deniga, Adeoye** (1921), *YORUBA TITLES AND THEIR MEANINGS*. Lagos, Nigeria:The Author.
552. **Dennet, R.E.** (1904), "Notes on the Languages of the Efa (People) and the Benin or the Bini Commonly Called Uze

Odo", *JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL AFRICAN SOCIETY* 3:142-153.

[Includes the comparison of Yoruba words with Jakri and Benin words. It includes the English translations.]

553. ____ (1909), "Yoruba Salutation", *JOURNAL OF AFRICAN STUDIES* 8:187-189.

["There is not a more affable people found anywhere than the Akus. Not even the French are more scrupulous in their attention to politeness than they", p.187.]

554. ____ (1914), "West African Categories and the Yoruba Language", *JOURNAL OF AFRICAN SOCIETY* 14:75-80.

555. ____ (1916a), "How the Yorubas Count", *JOURNAL OF AFRICAN SOCIETY* 16:242-250.

556. ____ (1916b), *MY YORUBA ALPHABET*. London:Oxford University Press.

557. ____ (1917), "How the Yorubas Count", *JOURNAL OF AFRICAN SOCIETY* 17:60-71.

558. ____ (1937), *A DICTIONARY OF THE YORUBA LANGUAGE*. London:Oxford University Press.

559. **Denny, Neville** (1962), "Language and Education in Africa", in *LANGUAGE IN AFRICA:PAPERS OF THE LEVERHULME CONFERENCE ON UNIVERSITIES AND THE LANGUAGE PROBLEMS OF TROPICAL AFRICA*, edited by John Spencer, pp. 40-52. Cambridge:University Press.

560. **de Onis, Harriet** (1978), *GLOSSARY FOR THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF JORGE AMADO:SHEPHERD OF THE NIGHT*. New York:Bard Books, Avon.

[Includes some Yoruba derived words in Brazilian Portuguese.]

561. **Der-Houssikian, Haig** (1971), *BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AFRICAN LINGUISTICS:CURRENT INQUIRY INTO LANGUAGE*, 7. Edmonton:Linguistic Research Inc.

[Includes works written on the Yoruba language.]

562. **Desai, Ram** (1968), "The Explosion of African Studies in the Soviet Union", *AFRICAN STUDIES BULLETIN* 11,2:248-258.

[Includes studies on Yoruba language.]

563. **Diagne, Pathe** (1963), "Linguistics and Culture in Africa", *PRESENCE AFRICAINE* 18,46:166-175.

564. _____ (1967), "Vernacular Languages in a Changing Society", *UNESCO COURIER* 20,6:29-32.
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566. **Diaz, Fabelo Teodoro** (1956), *LENGUE DE SANTEROS*. (The Vocabulary of Yoruba Cult in Cuba.) Adelante: Havana.
567. **Dihoff, Ivan R.** (ed.) (1983), *CURRENT APPROACHES TO AFRICAN LINGUISTICS: PUBLICATIONS IN AFRICAN LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS*. Dordrecht: Foris Publication. See a review of the work by D.K. Nylander in *THE CANADIAN JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS* (1985) 30,3:377-384.
568. **Dike, Onwuka K.** (1964), "The Study of African History", in *PROCEEDINGS OF THE 1ST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF AFRICANISTS*, edited by L. Brown and Michael Crowther, pp. 55-67. London: Longman for International Congress of Africanists.
- [Includes the use of linguistic evidence as one of the most reliable sources for the study of History.]*
569. **Dil, S. Anwar** (ed.) (1971), *LANGUAGE, CULTURE, AND COMMUNICATION: ESSAYS BY JOSEPH H. GREENBERG*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- [Includes some of Greenberg's works written on the classification of African languages.]*
570. **Dim, J.P.** (1954), *LANGUAGE IS MONEY PART 1: HAUSA-IBO-ENGLISH WITH YORUBA NUMERATION*. Kano, Nigeria: The Author.
571. **Dipeolu, J.O.** (1966), *BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES FOR NIGERIAN STUDIES*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University.
- [The work includes (1). Published library catalogues. (2). General and special bibliographies covering the whole Africa. (3). Reading lists and bibliographies appearing at the end of textbooks. (4). Bibliographies devoted to Nigerian topics. See languages on pp. 23-25.]*
572. **Di Pietro, Robert J.** (1968), "Bilingualism", in *CURRENT TRENDS IN LINGUISTICS IV: IBERO-AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN LINGUISTICS*, edited by Thomas A. Sebeok, pp. 399-414. The Hague: Mouton.
- [Links both Lucumi and Nago with Yoruba and discusses the fate of African languages in Latin America.]*

573. **Diringer, David** (1948), "Aroko or symbolic epistles of the Yoruba people", in his *THE ALPHABET: A KEY TO THE HISTORY OF MANKIND*, pp. 30, 563. London: Hutchinson's Scientific and Technical Publications, pp. 30, 563. See also the third edition (1968), p. 14. London: Hutchinson and Co.
574. **Disterheft, Dorothy** (1985), "The Structure and Diachrony of Consecutives", *DIACHRONICA* 3,1:1-14.
575. **Dojio Adedapo** (1977), "A propos des tons phonetiques et phonologiques du Yoruba." (On phonetic and phonological tones in Yoruba.) *BULLETIN DE L'UNIVERSITE DE BESANCON, LINGUISTIQUE APPLIQUEE ET GENERALE*, pp. 113-138.
576. **Donegan, Patricia J.** (1985), *ON THE NATURAL PHONOLOGY OF VOWELS*. New York and London: Garland Publishing.
- [Reference is made to some contrasts on system vowel phonemes which manifest themselves in the pronunciation of some foreign vowels borrowed from Yoruba into Nupe.]*
577. **Dosumu, J.A.** (ed.) (1977), *NIGERIAN BOOKS IN PRINT 1968*. (National Library Publication, 19.) Lagos: National Library.
578. **Dry, D.L.P.** (1959), "The Use of Tone in English Speech Training", *WEST AFRICAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION* 3,1:26-32.
579. **Duignam, Peter** (ed.) (1971), "Linguistics", in *GUIDE TO RESEARCH AND REFERENCE WORKS ON SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA*. (Hoover Institution Bibliographical Series, 66), pp. 340-348. Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press.
- [Includes works written on Yoruba.]*
580. ____ (1971), "Nigeria", in *GUIDE TO RESEARCH AND REFERENCE WORKS ON SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA*. (Hoover Institution Bibliography Series, 47), pp. 466-488. Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press.
581. **Dundes, A.** (1964), "Some Yoruba Wellerism Dialogue Proverbs and Tongue Twisters", *FOLKLORE* 75:113-120.
- [Includes English translations and explanatory notes.]*
582. **Dunstan, M.E.** (1965), "Map Indicating Peoples and Language Families of West Africa", in *A THOUSAND YEARS OF WEST AFRICAN HISTORY*, edited by J.F.A. Ajayi and I. Espie. Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press.
- [See the front and back pages of the book.]*
583. ____ (ed.) (1969), *TWELVE NIGERIAN LANGUAGES: A HANDBOOK ON THEIR SOUND SYSTEMS FOR TEACHERS OF*

ENGLISH. London:Longman. See a review of the work by J.T. Bendor Samuel in *IBADAN* (1975) 30:40-41.

[English, Efik, Etsako, Fula, Hausa, Igbo, Ijo, Isoko, Itsekiri, Nupe, Tiv, Urhobo and Yoruba are the Languages discussed.]

584. **Dunstan, M.E. and A. Opubor**, (1963), "Linguistics and African Languages", *IBADAN* 15:19-21.

585. **Durojaiye, M.O.A.** (1970), "Language and Psychology", *JOURNAL OF THE NIGERIA ENGLISH STUDIES ASSOCIATION* 4,1:53-71.

[Argues for the use of the indigenous languages by Nigerian pupils in early years at school.]

586. **Durojaiye, S.** (1985), *VERBAL INTERACTION IN THE CLASSROOM*. Lagos, Nigeria:University Press.

587. **Duruji, C.A.** (1980), "Language Study in the Nigerian Secondary Schools:A Pilot Study", in *LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION IN NIGERIA 1:PROCEEDINGS OF THE LANGUAGE SYMPOSIUM OF NOVEMBER 1977 ORGANIZED BY THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE, FEDERAL MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, LAGOS, NIGERIA*, (see Ayo Bamgbose), pp. 73-79.

588. **Eades, J.S.** (1980), *THE YORUBA TODAY*. Cambridge:University Press.

[The first chapter discusses Yoruba dialects and the population of the Yoruba in the various divisional areas. It also includes a map showing the Yoruba speakers in Nigeria, Benin and Togo.]

589. **East, R.M.** (1941), "Yoruba Language", in his *A VERNACULAR BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE LANGUAGES OF NIGERIA*, pp. 73-85. Zaria:Literature Bureau.

590. **Egharevba, J.U.** (1935), *GBEDEGBEYO ORO*. (Word Riddler.) Benin: Egharevba Press.

591. **Elimelech, Baruch** (1974), "On the Reality of Underlying Contour Tones", *UCLA WORKING PAPERS IN PHONETICS* (Los Angeles) 27:74-83.

[Languages discussed are Kru and Yoruba.]

592. ____ (1982), "Syllable Counting in Yoruba", *STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS* 13,1:77-88.

593. **Elliot, A.V.P.** (1938), "The Teaching of African Languages in African Schools:A Need for Improvement", *AFRICA* 11,1:73-79.

[The Africans "would learn English better and more quickly if first they had learnt to understand their own language, in its grammatical construction, in composition, in reading, and in debating, if they had learnt to think in their native language", p. 75.]

594. Elliot, A.V.P. and P. Gurrey (1949), *LANGUAGE TEACHING IN AFRICAN SCHOOLS*. London:Oxford University Press.

595. Ellis, A.B. (1894), *THE YORUBA SPEAKING PEOPLE OF THE SLAVE COAST OF WEST AFRICA*. London:Chapman and Hall.

[The appendix contains a comparison of the Tshi, Ga, Ewe and Yoruba languages.]

596. Ellis, Joan (1968), "Reprints of Books and Journals on Africa", *AFRICAN STUDIES BULLETIN* 11,2:329-362.

[Includes some reprints of books on Yoruba.]

597. Elugbe, B. (1971), "The Edo Language of Akoko Division", *RESEARCH NOTES* 4,1:35-38.

598. Elugbe, B. and K. Williamson (1977), "Reconstructing Nasals in Proto-Benue-Kwa", in *LINGUISTIC STUDIES OFFERED TO JOSEPH GREENBERG*, 2, edited by E. Julland, pp. 339-363. Saragota, Calif:Anma Libri.

599. Emenajo, E. Nolue (1985), "Nigeria Language Policy:Perspective and Prospective", *JOLAN* 3:123-134.

[Classifies Yoruba as one of the 'very large' languages.]

600. Enemo, E.O. (1948), "The Social Problems of Nigeria", *AFRICA* 18,1:190-198.

["Diversity of language is one of the major social problems in Nigeria. Ibo, Hausa, and Yoruba are spoken by rather less than two-thirds of the population. No one knows exactly how many different languages (not dialects) are spoken in Nigeria. Eighty is a very moderate estimate. It is almost as hard for a Yoruba to learn to speak Ibo or Hausa as it is for him to learn to speak a European language.", p. 191.]

601. Engle, P. (1975), "The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education", *REVIEW OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH* 45,2:282-325.

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727. **Hailey, Lord** (1938), "The Study of African Languages", in his *AN AFRICAN SURVEY:A STUDY OF PROBLEMS ARISING IN AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA*, pp. 68-99. London:Oxford University Press. Further ed. 1956.

[Topics discussed include institutions for the study and teaching of African languages, the problem of orthography and the developments in linguistic research among others.]

728. **Hair, P.E.H.** (1961a), "Notes on the Early Study of Some West African Languages (Susu, Sherbro, Temne, Mende, Vai and Yoruba)", *BULLETIN DE L'IFAN* 23, 3-4:683-695.
729. ____ (1961b), "An Ijebu Man in Paris, 1839", *NIGERIA*

MAGAZINE 68:79-82.

[What is probably the earliest detailed representation of Yoruba society and the Yoruba language in European records was drawn from this Ijebu man, Osifekunde, by M. d'Avezac in 1839.]

730. ____ (1962), "The Contribution of Freetown and Fourah Bay College to the Study Of West African Languages", *SIERRA LEONE LANGUAGE REVIEW* 1:7-18.

[Includes works written on Yoruba by Crowther, Raban, Vidal, King, Morgan and Macaulay.]

731. ____ (1963), "The Sierra Leone Settlement: The Earliest Attempt to Study African Languages", *SIERRA LEONE LANGUAGE REVIEW* 2:5-10.

[Includes works written by Crowther and Raban on Yoruba.]

732. ____ (1965a), "Sierra Leone Items in the Gullah Dialects of American English", *SIERRA LEONE LANGUAGE REVIEW* 4:79-84.

[Includes the influence of Yoruba, Kongo and Mende on the Gullah dialect.]

733. ____ (1965b), "A Bibliography of R.C. Abraham - Linguist and Lexicographer", *JOURNAL OF WEST AFRICAN LANGUAGES* 11,1:63-66.

[Includes some of his works on Yoruba.]

734. ____ (1966), "Collections of Vocabularies of West Africa before Polyglotta: A Key", *JOURNAL OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES* 5,3:208-217.

[Includes various names used for Yoruba.]

735. ____ (1967), *THE EARLY STUDY OF NIGERIAN LANGUAGES, ESSAY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY*. (West African Languages Monograph, 7.) Cambridge: University Press in association with the West African Languages Survey and the Institute of African Studies, Ibadan. See reviews of the work by E. Rowlands in *JOURNAL OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES* 8,1:45-46; S.A. Babalola in *JOURNAL OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NIGERIA* (1968) 4,2:352, J. Carnochan in *BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES* (1971) 24:465-466 and A.H.M. Kirk-Green in *AFRICA* (1968) 38,2:217-218.

[Discusses Yoruba on pp. 4-30.]

736. ____ (1968), "An Ethnolinguistic Inventory of the Lower Guinea before 1700, Part 3", *AFRICAN LANGUAGE REVIEW* 7:47-73.

[Languages discussed include Yoruba.]

737. ____ (1969), "Samuel Ajayi Crowther: A Bibliographical Note", *AFRICAN LANGUAGE REVIEW* 8:5-6.

[His Yoruba works are mentioned.]

738. ____ (1971), "The Contribution of Early Linguistic Material to the History of West Africa", in *LANGUAGE AND HISTORY*, (see D. Dalby), pp. 50-63.

739. **Hakim, Dawud** (1970), *ARABIC NAMES AND OTHER AFRICAN NAMES WITH THEIR MEANINGS*. Philadelphia: Hakim Publications.

740. **Hall, Robert A Jr.** (1966), *PIDGIN AND CREOLE LANGUAGES*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

[Yoruba is one of the languages with which both Pidgin and Creole are compared. For instance, the "development of aspectual prefixes for verbs in these Creoles is unquestionably due to a carry-over from West African Languages, in which aspect is far more important than tense so far as verb-inflection is concerned. Thus, in Yoruba, the progressive is formed by prefixing a nasal to the verb-stem, the habitual by prefixing maa-, and the perfective by prefixing ti", p. 60.]

741. **Hancock, Ian Francis** (1969), "A Provisional Comparison of the English-Based Atlantic Creole", *AFRICAN LANGUAGE REVIEW* 8, 7-22.

[Notes that the words 'Nago' (Jamaican Creole), 'nago' (Haitian French), 'nago' (Brazilian Portuguese), 'anago' (Cuban Spanish) used to describe the Yoruba were derived from 'Anago' which is still used to describe a Yoruba ethnic group living in some eastern part of Benin Republic.]

742. ____ (1971), "A Study of the Sources and Development of the Lexicon of Sierra Leone Krio." Ph.D. Dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

[Some African derived words, mainly Yoruba, are discussed.]

743. ____ (1977), "Appendix: Repertory of Pidgin and Creole Languages", in *PIDGIN AND CREOLE LANGUAGES*, edited by Albert Valdman, pp. 362-391. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

["Creole English of Banjul (formerly Bathurst), the Gambia, known as Aku, Krio or Patois, is spoken by some 3,500 Creoles or 'Akus' descendants of freed (mainly Yoruba), slaves, and traders from Sierra Leone, as a first Language, and as a lingua franca inland along River Gambia", p. 375.]

744. **Hansford, Keir** (1976), "A Provisional Language Map of Nigeria", *SAVANNA* 5,2:115-124.
745. **Hansford, Keir, John Bender-Samuel and Ron Stanford** (1976), *AN INDEX OF NIGERIAN LANGUAGES*. (Studies in Nigerian Languages, 5), pp. 5-204. Accra:Summer Institute of Linguistics.
746. **Hare, A.P.** (1969), "Cultural Differences in Performance and Communication Network in Africa (Yoruba and Igbo in Ibadan), the United States and Phillipines", *SOCIOLOGY AND RESEARCH* 54,1:25-41.
747. **Hargreaves, J.** (1965), "The Story of the Yoruba Bible", *THE BIBLE TRANSLATOR* 16:39-44.
748. **Harman, H.A.** (1957), *THE SOUNDS OF ENGLISH SPEECH:A HANDBOOK FOR AFRICAN STUDENTS*. London:Longman.

[Languages discussed include British English, Twi and Yoruba.]

749. **Harman, J. D. (ed.) and Mary Stutzman (comp.)** (1979), *DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS AND MASTER'S THESES ON AFRICA, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES:1940-1978*. (Occasional Paper, 18.) Los Angeles:African Studies Center, University of California.

[Includes some works written on Yoruba.]

750. **Harris, John** (1970), "Appendices to National Bibliography in Nigeria", in *THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AFRICA*, (see J.D. Pearson and Ruth Jones), pp. 349-355.
751. **Hartley, N.** (1969), "Language and Nation Building:Examples from West Africa", *THE INCORPORATED LINGUIST* 8,3:57-59.
752. **Head, Brian F.** (1978), "Respect Degrees in Pronominal Reference", in *UNIVERSALS OF HUMAN LANGUAGE 3:WORD STRUCTURE*, (see J.H. Greenberg), pp. 249-296.

[Yoruba is used for illustration.]

753. **Heidt, K.M.** (1954), "Laut und Ton in Yoruba." (Sound and Tone in Yoruba.) Phil F. Dissertation, University of Hamburg.
754. **Heine, B.** (1968), *AFRIKANISCHE VERKEHRSSPRACHEN*. (African Lingua Francas.) (Schriftenreihe zur empirischen

Socialforschung, 4.) Cologne:Infratest.

[Yoruba is one of the languages discussed.]

755. ____ (1970a), *STATUS AND USE OF AFRICAN LINGUA FRANCA*. New York:Humanities Press.

[Yoruba is one of the languages discussed.]

756. ____ (1970b), "Lingua Franca und Familie in Afrika". (Lingua Franca and Family in Africa.), *SOCIOLOGUS N.F.* 20,1:42-56.

[Yoruba is one of the languages discussed.]

757. ____ (1970c), "Sprachkenntnis und sprachgebrauch in Afrika". (Language Knowledge and Language Use in Africa.), *LINGUA* 25:1-11.

758. ____ (1971), "Urbanisierung und sprachsoziologie afrikanischer lingua franca". (Urbanization and Language Sociology of African Lingua Franca.) *LINGUISTICS* 73:46-61.

759. ____ (1972), *A TYPOLOGY OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES BASED ON THE ORDER OF MEANINGFUL ELEMENTS*. (Kolner Beitrage zur Afrikanistik, 4.) Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.

760. ____ (1977), "Vertical and Horizontal Communication in Africa", *AFRIKA SPECTRUM* 77,3:231-238.

761. ____ (1979), *SPRACHE, GEsSELLSCHAFT UND KOMMUNIKATION IN AFRIKA*. (Language, Society and Communication in Africa.) (Afrika-Studien, 103.) Munich and London:Weltforum Verlag.

762. **Herbert, Robert K.** (ed.) (1975), *PATTERNS IN LANGUAGE, CULTURE, AND SOCIETY: SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SYMPOSIUM HELD AT THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, COLUMBUS APRIL 11, 1975*. (Ohio State University Working Papers in Linguistics, 19.) Columbus, Ohio:Ohio State University.

[Includes discussions on Yoruba.]

763. **Hermes, I.** (1972), *SEMANTISCH-SYNTAKTISCHE ANALYSE DER VERB-OBJECT-VERHALTNISSE IM YORUBA*. (Semantic-Syntactic Analysis of the Verb-Object Relation in Yoruba.) Leipzig:VEB Verlag.

764. ____ (1973a), "Analyse der Verbindungen von Verb und Substantiv im Yoruba." (Analysis of the Verb-Noun Complex in Yoruba.) *ASIEN-AFRIKA-LATEN-AMERIKA, SONDERHEFT* 1:73-81.

765. ____ (1973b), "Constructions with Serial Verbs in Yoruba",

STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS 15:349-363.

766. ____ (1973c), "Die Yoruba-Sprache im Bildungswesen Nigerias." (Yoruba language in the educational system of Nigeria.) *ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR PHONETIK, SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT UND KOMMUNIKATIONSFORSCHUNG* 26,5:581-590.
767. ____ (1975), "Zur Rolle der nigerianischen Sprachen bei nationalen Prozessen in Nigeria." (On the role of the Nigerian languages in the national development in Nigeria.) *ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR PHONETIK, SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT UND KOMMUNIKATIONSFORSCHUNG* 28, 3/4:349-354.
768. ____ (1977), "Der Ausdruck logischer Beziehungen mit dem an quantitativen im Yoruba." (The expression of logical relation with a quantitative is in Yoruba.) *ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR PHONETIK, SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT UND KOMMUNIKATIONSFORSCHUNG* 30:502-508.
769. ____ (1982), "Ton und Intensität im Yoruba." (Tone and intensity in Yoruba.) *ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR PHONETIK, SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT UND KOMMUNIKATIONSFORSCHUNG* 35,2:150-156.
770. Hilken, P. (1974), "How Children Learn English in Ife Six-Year Primary Project", in *LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN NIGERIA*, edited by E. Ubahakwe, pp. 213-243. Nsukka:CUDIMAC.

[All subjects, except English, are taught in Yoruba in the school.]
771. Hilken, P. and J. Ude-Ema (1973), "The Institute Resources in Innovative Teacher Education", in *ATEA*, (see A.B. Fafunwa), pp. 87-95.

[Discusses the problems of providing teachers for the six-year (Yoruba Medium) Primary School Programme.]
772. Hodge, Carleton and Richard Spears (1975), "African Languages", in *MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT NEEDS IN THE UNCOMMONLY-TAUGHT LANGUAGES. PRIORITIES FOR THE SEVENTIES*, edited by the Center for Applied Linguistics, Arlington, pp. 47-53. Arlington, V.A.:Center for Applied Linguistics.
773. Hoehn, Phillip R. and Jean Judson (1969), "Theses on Sub-Saharan Africa Accepted by the University of California at Berkeley", *AFRICAN STUDIES BULLETIN* 12,2:157-166.
774. Hoffmann, C. (1976), "The Languages of Nigeria by Language Family", in *AN INDEX OF NIGERIAN LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS*, (see K. Hansford *et al.*), pp. 169-190.

775. **Holm, John** (1978), "The Creole English of Nicaragua's Miskito Coast: Its Sociolinguistic History and a Comparative Study of the Lexicon and Syntax." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London.

[Notes some parallels between the Nicaraguan Creole and some West African Languages.]

776. **Holm, John and A. Goke Oyediji** (1984), "The Yoruba in the New World", *OSO* 3,1:83-89.

777. **Hombert, Jean-Marie** (1974), "Universals of Downdrift: The Phonetic Basis and Significance for a Theory of Tone", *STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS SUPPLEMENT* 5:169-183.

[Languages studied include Babanke, Bakwiri, Dschag, Hausa, Igbo, Kru, Shona and Yoruba.]

778. ____ (1976a), "Perception of Tones of Bisyllabic Nouns in Yoruba", *PAPERS IN HONOR OF W.E. WELMERS*. (Studies in African Linguistics, Supplement 6), pp. 109-121.

779. ____ (1976b), "Consonant Types, Vowel Height and Tone in Yoruba", in *STUDIES ON PERCEPTION OF TONES*. (UCLA Working Papers on Phonetics, 33), pp. 40-54. Also in *STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS* 8 (1977) 173-190.

780. ____ (1978), "Consonant Types, Vowel Quality and Tone", in *tone: A LINGUISTIC SURVEY*, (see V.A. Fromkin), pp. 71-111.

[Includes the results of some experiments carried out on the Yoruba language.]

781. **Homburger, L** (1929), *NOMS DES PARTIES DU CORPS DANS LES LANGUES NEGRO-AFRICAINES*. (Collection Linguistique Publiee par la Societe de Linguistique de Paris, 25.) (Names of the body parts in the Black African languages.) Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honore Champion. See a review of the work by J.H. Greenberg in *LANGUAGE* (1950) 26:170-173.

[Yoruba is one of the languages used for illustration.]

782. ____ (1941), *LES LANGUES NEGRO-AFRICAINES ET LES PEUPLES QUI LES PARLENT*. (The Languages of Black Africa and Its Speakers.) Paris: Payot.

783. ____ (1949), *THE NEGRO AFRICAN LANGUAGES*. London: Oxford University Press.

[Concludes that Negro-African languages "represent the evolution of dialectal forms of Egyptian or of Coptic".]

784. **Hopgood, C.R.** (1948), "Language, Literature and Culture",

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785. **Houis, Maurice** (1961), "Mouvements historiques et communautés linguistiques dans l'ouest africain". (Historical Movements and Linguistic Communities in West Africa.), *L'HOMMES* 1,3:72-90.
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787. ____ (1976), "The Problem of Choice of Languages in Africa", *PROSPECTS* 6,3:393-405.
788. **Hulstaert, G.** (1958), "Bilinguisme en Afrique?". (Bilingualism in Africa?.) *AEQUATORIA* 21,4:144-145.
789. **Hunt, Carl Monroe** (1977), "Oyotunji Village: The Yoruba Movement in America." Ph.D. Dissertation, West Virginia University.
790. **Hurel, Robert** (1971), "Einigen Notizen zu theoretischen Modellen der Mehrsprachigkeit: Mit besonderem Bezug auf die Westafrikanische Situation". (Some Notes on Theoretical Models of Multilingualism with Special Reference to West African Situation.), in *ZUR SOCIOLOGIE DER SPRACHE*, edited by Rolf Kjolseth and Fritz Sack, pp. 122-127. Oplade: Westdeutscher Verlag.
791. **Hurford, J.R.** (1975), "Yoruba Numerals", in his *THE LINGUISTIC THEORY OF NUMERALS*, pp. 211-232. Cambridge: University Press.
792. **Hussey, E.R.** (1932), "The Languages of Literature in Africa", *AFRICA* 5,2:169-175.

["Certain important languages, for example, Yoruba, Ibo, and Efik in southern Nigeria are used in schools and textbooks are written in them ... it is obvious that a language must be widely used, if it is going to be worth while commercially to develop it as a literary language", pp. 170, 175.]
793. **Hyman, Larry M.** (1970), "The Role of Borrowing in the Justification of Phonological Grammar", *STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS* 1,1:1-48.
794. ____ (1972a), "Nasal and Nasalization in Kwa", *STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS* 4,1:167-205.
795. ____ (1972b), "Natural Tone Rule - Evidence from West Africa", *WORKING PAPERS ON LANGUAGE UNIVERSALS* 10. Stanford University.

796. ____ (1975), "On the Change from SOV to SVO: Evidence from Niger-Congo", in *WORD ORDER AND WORD ORDER CHANGE*, edited by Charles N. Li, pp. 113-148. Austin: University of Texas Press.
797. ____ (1978), "Historical Tonology", in *TONE: A LINGUISTICS SURVEY*, (see V.A. Fromkin), pp. 257-269.
[Examples are taken from Yoruba.]
798. **Hyman, Larry M. and G. Russell Schuh** (1974), "Universals of Tone Rules: Evidence from West Africa", *LINGUISTIC INQUIRY* 5,1:81-115.
799. **Ibadan University Library** (1964), *NIGERIAN PUBLICATIONS 1963*. Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press.
800. ____ (1973a), *AFRICANA CATALOGUE OF THE IBADAN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY 1*. Boston, Massachusetts: G.K. Halls.
[Includes some works written on the Yoruba language.]
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[Also includes some works written on Yoruba.]
802. ____ (1977), *NIGERIAN PUBLICATIONS 1950-1970*. Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press.
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808. ____ (1981), "Le morpheme verbal en Yoruba", *CIRL* 10:73-85.
809. **Igue, J. and O.B. Yai** (1973) "The Yoruba-speaking People of

Dahomey and Togo", *YORUBA* 1,1:1-29.

810. **Igbaelode, Alfa Yisau** (1963a), *ENGLISH, HAUSA, YORUBA, IBO LANGUAGES MADE EASY (FOR BEGINNERS.)* Ibadan, Nigeria:The Author.
 811. _____ (1963b), *HAUSA ATI YORUBA:GBEDEGBEYO.* (Hausa-Yoruba Dictionary.) Ibadan, Nigeria:The Author.
 812. **Ijomah, B.I.C.** (1972), "The Sociological Significant of Language in Africa", *THE CONCH* 4,2:14-32.
 813. **Ikara, Bashir** (ed.) (1982), *NIGERIAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT.* Lagos:National Language Centre.
 814. **Iko, Abeke** (n.d.), *YORUBA PROVERBS:600 YORUBA PROVERBS TRANSLATED TO IDIOMATIC ENGLISH.* The Author.
 815. **Institut fur Lautforschung an der Universitat Berlin** (1933), *GRAMOPHONE RECORDS OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES (YORUBA WITH ANNOTATED TEXTS.)* Berlin:Institut fur Lautforschung. See a review by I. Ward in *BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES* (1935) vii:1019.
 816. **Institute of African Adult Education** (1967), *BI A SE N KA IWE NI AKAYE:IWE KIKA TI A SE NI ONA TI O BA ISE ENI LO FUN AWON AGBE AYANTABA NI IWO OORUN NIGERIA, IWE 2.* (Yoruba Readers for Tobacco Farmers in Western Nigeria, Book 2.) Ibadan, Nigeria:Institute of African Adult Education, University of Ibadan.
 817. **Institute of Education** (1977), "Languages", in *A SUBJECT INDEX OF MAJOR ARTICLES AND NEWS ITEMS ON EDUCATION IN NIGERIAN NEWSPAPER, JAN-JUNE 1977*, pp. 25-26. Zaria, Nigeria:Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University.
- [Includes articles written on Yoruba language in education.]*
818. **International African Institute** (1970-), *INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY.* London:School of Oriental and African Studies Library.
- [Contains works on Africa on all subjects; it takes over from the Quarterly Bibliography of Current Books and Articles published between 1929-1969 in the International African Institute's Journal, AFRICA (London).]*
819. _____ (1973a), "Linguistics:Yoruba", in *CUMULATIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AFRICAN STUDIES 2 (4-5):CLASSIFIED CATALOGUE*, pp. 246-249. Boston, Mass:G.K. Hall.

820. ____ (1973b), "Index to Ethnic Groups and Languages", in *CUMULATIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AFRICAN STUDIES 3 (6-8):CLASSIFIED CATALOGUE*, pp. 529-561. Boston, Mass:G.K. Hall.
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[Includes evidence from Yoruba.]
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827. **Iso, Asi Olu and Evangelo A. Afendras** (1970), *MULTILINGUALISM AND COMMUNICATION IN NIGERIA*. (Publication B-14.) Quebec:CIRB/ICRB.
828. **Isola, Akinwumi** (1975), "The Rhythm of Sango-Pipe", in *YORUBA ORAL TRADITION:SELECTIONS FROM THE PAPERS PRESENTED AT THE SEMINAR ON THE YORUBA ORAL TRADITION, POETRY, DANCE AND DRAMA*, edited by Wande Abimbola, pp. 777-806. Ife:Department of African Languages and Literatures, University of Ife, Nigeria.
829. ____ (1976), "The Artistic Aspects of Sango-Pipe", *ODU* 13:80-103.

[Discusses the language of Sango-Pipe, one of the Yoruba oral genres.]
830. ____ (1982), "Ena:Code Talking in Yoruba", *JOURNAL OF WEST AFRICAN LANGUAGES* 21,1:43-51.
831. **Ita, Nduntuei O.** (1971), *BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NIGERIA:A SURVEY OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND LINGUISTIC WRITING*

FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO 1966. London:Frank Cass. See a review by Adeboye Babalola in *JOURNAL OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NIGERIA* (1971) 63:342.

832. **J.M.J.** (1912), *GRAMMAIRE DE LA LANGUE YORUBA*. (Grammar of Yoruba Language.) Lyon:Mission Africaine.

833. **Jacob, R.** (1967), "English Language Teaching:Problems and Needs", *JOURNAL OF THE NIGERIA ENGLISH STUDIES ASSOCIATION* 1:3-6.

[Stresses the need for more research on the change-over from the indigenous language to English.]

834. **Jacquot, A.** (1880), *ETUDES SUR LA LANGUE NAGO OU YORUBA*. (Studies on the language Nago or Yoruba.) Lyon:Mission Africaine.

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[Includes the discussion of Yoruba writing.]

836. **Jakovleva, I.P.** (1963a), *JAZY K JORUBA*. (The Yoruba language.) Moscow:JaZyki Zarubeznogo Vostoka; Afriki; izd Vostocnoy Literatury.

837. _____ (1963b), *FONETICO-GRAMMATICESKIJ OCERK JAZYKA JORUBA*. (Phonetic - grammatical account of the Yoruba language.) Moscow:Avtoref.

838. **James, A. Lloyd** (1925), "The Tones of Yoruba", *BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES* 3:107-118.

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["It must now be accepted that no system of orthography should be devised for any language unless and until a minutely accurate phonetic and tonal analysis of the language has been made", p. 126.]

840. _____ (1928b), "Phonetics and African Languages", *AFRICA* 1,3:358-371.

["In Yoruba, there are several well-defined tones e.g. a high level tone, a mid level, a low tone, a mid falling tone, a low rising tone.... In addition to semantic tone there may be syntactic tones", p. 370.]

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842. ____ (1979), *YORUBA GBAYI*, 2. (Language text, 2.) Ibadan, Nigeria: Pilgrim.
843. ____ (1980), *YORUBA GBAYI*, 3. (Language text, 3.) Ibadan, Nigeria: Pilgrim.
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851. **Jeje, Saeeda Nasser** (1982), "Production of Tones by Yoruba Children." SC.D. Dissertation, Boston University.
852. **Jensen, Hans** (1970), "On African Symbolic Messages", in his *SIGN, SYMBOL AND SCRIPT:TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN BY GEORGE UNWIN*, pp. 30-31. London:George Allen and unwin.

[Discusses Yoruba logography.]
853. **Jibril, Munzali** (1979), "Regional Variation in Nigerian Spoken English", in *VARIETIES AND FUNCTIONS OF ENGLISH IN NIGERIA*, (see E. Ubahakwe), pp. 43-53.
854. ____ (1982), "Nigerian English:An Introduction", in *NEW ENGLISHES*, edited by John B. Pride, pp. 73-84. Rowley, London:Newbury House Publishers.

[Discusses the influence of Nigerian languages on Nigerian English under the headings: Phonology, Syntax and Semantics. On innovations in semantics, he concludes that "Yoruba will be seen to be the more dominant source language", p. 81.]
855. ____ (1982), "Phonological Variation in Nigerian English." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Lancaster.

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["The study is based on tape-recordings of 45 Nigerian speakers of English, 15 each from the three major ethnolinguistic groups" - Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo.]

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[Includes Yoruba grammar.]

860. **Jones, Daniel** (1915), "Introductory Note on Phonetics in Relation to African Languages", in *LANGUAGE FAMILIES OF AFRICA* by A. Werner, pp. v-vii. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

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["Some of the commonest, as well as some of the most expressive words in Krio are Yoruba borrowings", p. 105.]

863. ____ (1971), "Krio: An English-Based Language of Sierra Leone", in *THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN WEST AFRICA*, (see John Spencer), pp. 66-87.

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[See Nigeria on pp. 322-323.]

866. ____ (1971), "Forty-one Years of African Bibliography", *AFRICA* 41,1:54-56.

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868. ____ (1973), "Notes on the Ishe District Ukaan Akoko, Western State, Nigeria", *AFRICANA MARBURGENSIA* 6:33-54.
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871. **Junod, H.P.** (1963), "Langues vernaculaires et vehiculaires en Afrique". (Vernacular and Vehicular Languages in Africa.), *GENEVA-AFRIQUE* 2,1:21-45.
872. **Kapelinski, F.J.** (1965), "Observations on Phonetics Interference in Learning English and French in Nigeria", *OCCASIONAL PAPER, 4*. Zaria, Nigeria:Department of Languages, Ahmadu Bello University.
873. **Kaplum, M.I.** (1977), *SPEKTRALNYI ANALIZ I SINTEZ RECNOGO SIGNALA - NA MATERIALE GLASNYCH JAZYKWA JORUBA*. (Spectra analysis and synthetics of the language sign - On the material of vowels in Yoruba.) Moscow.
874. **Kaye, J.H. Koopman, D. Sportiche and A. Dugas (eds.)** (1983), *CURRENT APPROACHES TO AFRICAN LINGUISTICS 2:PUBLICATIONS IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS*. Dordrecht:Foris Publications. See a review of the work by M.L. Bender in *LANGUAGE* (1985) 61,2:504-505.

[Includes some writings on Yoruba.]

875. **Keenan, E.L.** (1985), "Relative Clauses", in *LANGUAGE TYPOLOGY AND SYNTACTIC DESCRIPTION 2:COMPLEX CONSTRUCTION*, edited by Timothy Shopen, pp. 141-170. Cambridge:University Press.

[Includes some Yoruba Examples.]

876. **Kellaghan, T.** (1961), "Some Implications of Bilingualism for Education in Nigeria", *IBADAN* 11:31-33.
877. **Kennedy, Jas D.** (1936), "Index to Vernacular Names", in his *FOREST FLORA OF SOUTHERN NIGERIA*, pp. 243-266. Lagos, Nigeria:Government Printer.

[Contains the translation of the European and scientific names of the plants in the Nigerian Languages.]

878. **Kerr, J.Y.R.** (1972), "The Future of Yoruba Literary Culture:An Outsider's Views", *WEST AFRICAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION* 16,2:185-194.

[Reflects on the current use of the mother-tongue by the educated Yoruba speakers, with particular regard to reading and writing Yoruba.]

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[Includes the discussion of the language of the Akus.]

880. **Kim, Chin-wu and Herbert Stahlke** (eds.) (1970), *PAPERS IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS*. Edmonton:Linguistic Research Inc.

[Includes papers in which Yoruba is referred to extensively.]

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[Includes a chapter on "The Relationship between Speech Tone and Song".]

882. **Kirk-Greene, A.H.M.** (1963), "West African Language Congress", *WEST AFRICA*, May 8, p. 554.

883. ____ (1967), "The Linguistic Statistics of Nigeria:A Tentative Presentation", *AFRICAN LANGUAGE REVIEW* 6:75-101.

[Includes Kanuri, Twi, Yoruba, Hausa, Fulani and other languages.]

884. ____ (1971), "The Influence of West African Languages on English", in *THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN WEST AFRICA*, (see John Spencer), pp. 123-144. London:Longman.

[Some of the examples used in the work are taken from Yoruba and Hausa.]

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Education in Africa", *MONDE LINGVO-PROBLEMO* 2,1:21-37.

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889. Kohler, A. (1984), "Le tone en Ife", in *ETUDES LINGUISTIQUES PRELIMINAIRES EN QUEQUE S LANGUES DU TOGO*. (See Jacques Nicole), pp. 138-157.

[The Yoruba speakers in Togo refer to themselves as Ife.]

890. Komolafe, Benjy Ainde Kayode Durojaiye (1978), *A LINGUAGEM CORRETA DOS ORIXA*. (A Yoruba Text Book for Foreigners.) Rio de Janeiro.

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892. Kotey Paul F. and Haig Der-Houssikian (eds.) (1977), *LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC PROBLEMS IN AFRICA. PROCEEDINGS OF THE 7TH CONFERENCE ON AFRICAN LINGUISTICS*. Columbia, SC.:Hornbeam Press.

893. Kujore Obafemi (1975), "A Touchstone for the Verb in Yoruba", in *YORUBA VERB PHRASE*, (see Ayo Bamgbose), pp. 61-72.

894. Kuye, J.G. (1913), *COLLOQUIAL ENGLISH OR, EDE GESI*. Lagos, Nigeria:C.M.S Bookshops. 35 pp.

895. ____ (1921), *ENGLISH PRINCIPIA, OR GRAMMAR GESI FOR THE PRIMARY SCHOOLS AND PRIVATE TUITION, CONTAINING COPIOUS EXERCISES FOR TRANSLATION WITH VOCABULARIES*. Lagos, Nigeria:The Author.

896. Labov, William (1982), "Objectivity and Commitment in Linguistic Science:The Case of the Black English Trial at Ann Arbor", *LANGUAGE IN SOCIETY* 11:165-201.

[Touches upon the African roots of Black English.]

897. Lacroix, P.F. (1964), "The Problems of African Languages", *PRESENCE AFRICAINE* 23, 51:79-87.

["Certain field - those of Yoruba or Swahili for example - have attracted enough research workers so that it is possible for anyone wanting to tackle them to find ample bibliography and at the same time somebody skilled to

teach them. On the contrary, nothing exists even today for the study of other languages, such as Eastern Adamawa or some of those spoken in Portuguese Guinea or in lower part of the Ivory Coast", p. 83]

898. **Ladefoged, Peter** (1964), *A PHONETIC STUDY OF WEST AFRICAN LANGUAGES*. Cambridge:University Press. See reviews of the work by A. Traill in *AFRICAN STUDIES* 29 (1970):150-151; B. Siertsema in *JOURNAL OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES* (1965) 14,2:135-137, J. Carnochan in *BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES* (1966) 22:430-432 and O. von Essen in *AFRIKA UND UBERSEE* (1964) 48:152-155.

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[Evidence is cited from Yoruba.]

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[Yoruba is one of the languages discussed.]

902. **Ladimeji, O.A.** (1972), "Language, Society and Literature", *CONCH* 4:38-54.

903. **Lafinhan, E.O.** (1955), *IWE KOMONWE KETA FUN ITESIWAJU NI KIKA EDE YORUBA*. (Teach children to read and write for improvement in Yoruba reading.) Ibadan, Nigeria:American Baptist Mission.

904. **Lapite, M.B.** (1956), *YORUBA FOR G.C.E. AND SIMILAR EXAMINATIONS*. Osogbo, Nigeria:The Author.

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[225 primary six pupils from 9 schools in the town of

Ile-Ife, Nigeria were selected to participate in the study.]

907. Lasebikan, E.L. (1950), "Ida Ward", *AFRICAN AFFAIR* 49,194:30-32.

["She had inspired the speakers of Efik, Igbo, Twi, Mende, Yoruba and other African languages, to appreciate in a special way the beauty and significance of their own tongues, and as long as people continue to speak of the high, falling, low, rising, middle and low-middle tones of African languages, so long will they sing to the praise of the English lady who invented the magic which enables a European to speak these languages as perfectly as African does", p. 32.]

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909. ____ (1954), *OJULOWO YORUBA, IWE KEJI*. (Pure Yoruba, Part 2.) Ibadan, Nigeria:Oxford University Press. See a review of the two books by Adisa William in *WEST AFRICA* (1958) August, 16:781.
910. ____ (1955), "Tones in Yoruba Poetry", *ODU* 11:35-36.
911. ____ (1956), "The Tonal Structure of Yoruba Poetry", *PRESENCE AFRICAINE* 8:43-50.
912. ____ (1958a), *LEARNING YORUBA*. Oxford:University Press.
913. ____ (1958b), *OJULOWO YORUBA, APA KETA*. (Pure Yoruba, Part 3.) Ibadan, Nigeria:Oxford University Press.
914. ____ (1963), "Yoruba in Brazil", *WEST AFRICA*, March 30, p. 352.
915. Lasebikan, E.L. and L.J. Lewis (1949), *YORUBA REVISION COURSE*. London:Oxford University Press. Reproduced 1968, Ibadan:University Press.
916. Laughren, M. (1976), "Serial Verbs", *BULLETIN DE L'IFAN* 38,4:872-889.
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920. ____ (1985), "Why Verbs Do Not Gap in Yoruba", *JOURNAL OF AFRICAN LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS* 7:155-162.
921. ____ (1986a), "Some Yoruba Quantifier Words and Semantic Interpretation", *STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS* 17,1:95-107.
922. ____ (1986b), "A Note on The Yoruba Subordinator 'ti'", *JOURNAL OF WEST AFRICAN LANGUAGES* 16,2:27-33.
923. **Lawal-Solarin, Y.** (1982), *MASTER KRAFTY: A B C IN YORUBA*. Ikeja, Lagos: Literamed Publications.
924. **Layeni, O.** (1965a), *YORUBA COURSE FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1*. Lagos, Nigeria: Folafin Publishers.
925. ____ (1965b), *YORUBA COURSE FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 2*. Lagos, Nigeria: Folafin Publishers.
926. ____ (1965c), *YORUBA COURSE FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 3*. Lagos, Nigeria: Folafin Publishers.
927. ____ (1970), "The Teaching of Yoruba in Schools", in *REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS*, edited by F. Kujore, pp. 15-20. Ibadan: Department of Classics, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.
928. **Leigh, Edward** (1968), "Education as a Means of Promoting National Consciousness", *NIGERIA MAGAZINE* 97:155-158.

["Language is a great unifying factor I feel that the English language should remain our 'lingua franca' but then the government must see to it that the Yoruba man speaks Hausa and Ibo, the Ibo speaks Hausa and Yoruba", etc. p 156.]
929. **Leighton, A.H., T.A. Lambo, C.C. Hughes, D.C. Leighton, J.M. Murphy and D.B. Macklin** (1963a), "Notes on the Yoruba Language", in their *PSYCHIATRIC DISORDER AMONG THE YORUBA: A REPORT FROM THE CORNELL-ARO MENTAL HEALTH RESEARCH PROJECT IN THE WESTERN REGION, NIGERIA*, p. xi. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
930. ____ (1963b), "Notes on Egba Yoruba", in their *PSYCHIATRIC DISORDER AMONG THE YORUBA: A REPORT FROM THE CORNELL-ARO MENTAL HEALTH RESEARCH PROJECT IN THE WESTERN REGION, NIGERIA*, pp. 289-293. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
931. ____ (1963c), "Literature on the Egba Yoruba", in their *PSYCHIATRIC DISORDER AMONG THE YORUBA: A REPORT*

FROM THE CORNELL-ARO MENTAL HEALTH RESEARCH PROJECT IN THE WESTERN REGION, NIGERIA, pp. 397-401. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

932. **Le Page, R.B.** (ed.) (1960), *CREOLE LANGUAGE STUDIES, 1: JAMAICAN CREOLE*. London: Macmillan.

[Includes some historical links between the Yoruba language and the Jamaican Creole.]

933. ____ (1964), *THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE QUESTION. LINGUISTIC PROBLEMS OF NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES*. London: Oxford University Press.

934. **Lepsius, C.R.** (1863), "Yoruba", in his *STANDARD ALPHABET FOR REDUCING UNWRITTEN LANGUAGES AND FOREIGN GRAPHIC SYSTEMS TO A UNIFORM ORTHOGRAPHY IN EUROPEAN LETTERS. RECOMMENDED FOR ADOPTION BY THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY. 2ND EDITION*. London: Williams and Norgate and Berlin: W. Hertz. pp. 276-278. (See also *RICHARD LEPSIUS STANDARD ALPHABET FOR REDUCING UNWRITTEN LANGUAGES AND FOREIGN GRAPHIC SYSTEMS TO A UNIFORM ORTHOGRAPHY IN EUROPEAN LETTERS 2ND, REVISED EDITION, LONDON 1863: AMSTERDAM STUDIES IN THE THEORY AND HISTORY OF LINGUISTIC SCIENCES 1: 1800-1925, AMSTERDAM CLASSICS IN LINGUISTICS 5*, edited with an introduction by J. Alan Kemp (1981). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. pp. 276-278.

935. **Lewis, L.J.** (1957), "The Place of African Languages in the Secondary School Curriculum" *WEST AFRICAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION* 1, 1: 20-22.

936. ____ (ed.) (1962), *PHELPS-STOKES REPORTS ON EDUCATION IN AFRICA: 1922-1925*. London: Oxford University Press.

[Includes the discussion of languages of instruction.]

937. ____ (1965), "The Problem of Language Policy in Africa in Expanding African Education", in *THE EDUCATION EXPLOSION*. (The World Year Book of Education, 1965.), edited by George Z.F. Bereday and Joseph A. Lauwerys, pp. 446-462. London: Evans.

938. **Lewis, S. Herbert** (1967), "Ethnology and Culture History", in *RECONSTRUCTING AFRICAN CULTURE HISTORY*, edited by Creighton Gabel and Norman R. Bennett, pp. 25-44. Boston: University Press.

[Includes such topics as Ethnology, Linguistics and Race, Language and Culture in African Historiography among others.]

939. **Library of Congress** (1985), "Anthropology, Linguistics and the Arts:Nigeria", in *AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA:INDEX TO PERIODICAL LITERATURE, 3RD SUPPLEMENT*, pp. 19-21. Washington:Library of Congress.

940. **Li, Charles N.** (1975), *WORD ORDER AND WORD ORDER CHANGES*. Austin and London:University of Texas Press.

[Yoruba examples are used in some of the articles.]

941. **Li, Charles N. and Sandra A. Thompson** (1978), "The Acquisition of Tone", in *TONE:A LINGUISTIC SURVEY*, (see V.A. Fromkin), pp. 271-284.

[Includes some comments on the data collected on a two-year old Yoruba girl.]

942. **Lindau, Mona and Patricia Wood** (1977), "Acoustic Vowel Spaces", *UCLA WORKING PAPERS IN PHONETICS* (Los Angeles) 38:41-47.

[Languages discussed include Yoruba.]

943. **Lindfors, B. and O. Owomoyela** (1973), *YORUBA PROVERBS:TRANSLATION AND ANNOTATION*. (Papers in International Studies, African Series, 17.) Athens, Ohio:Center Of International Studies, Ohio University.

944. **Little, Kenneth K.C.** (1950), "The Significance of the West African Creole for Africanist and Afro-American Studies", *AFRICAN AFFAIRS* 49,194:308-318.

[Includes the discussion of "the Aku (Creole)", p. 319.]

945. **Longman** (1948), *LONGMAN'S YORUBA SERIES, READER 4*. London:Longman.

946. **Lord, C.** (1973), "Serial Verb in Transition", *STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS* 4:169-196.

947. ____ (1974), "Causative Constructions in Yoruba", *STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS, SUPPLEMENT* 5:195-204.

948. ____ (1976), "Evidence for Syntactic Reanalysis from Verb to Complementizer in Kwa", in *PAPERS FROM THE PARASESSION ON DIACHRONIC SYNTAX*, pp. 179-191. Chicago:Chicago Linguistic Society.

[Includes some Yoruba examples.]

949. **Lucas, D.** (1977), "Language as a Source of Response Errors in Nigerian Social Surveys", *LAGOS NOTES AND RECORDS* 6:123-127.

[Includes the response of some Yoruba "interviewees" to a survey of occupation, marriage and fertility. Problems of translation from the indigenous languages to English are noted.]

950. **Lucas, J.O.** (1948a), "Survival of Hieroglyphics, Emblem and Other Symbols", in his *THE RELIGION OF THE YORUBA*, pp. 291-338. Lagos:C.M.S Bookshop.

[Describes some of the Egyptian hieroglyphics that survived among the Yoruba.]

951. ____ (1948b), "A Selection of Yoruba Words with Their Derivation from the Ancient Egyptian Language", in his *THE RELIGION OF THE YORUBA*, pp. 373-387. Lagos:C.M.S. Bookshop.

952. ____ (1948c), "Yoruba Hieroglyphics Known as 'Aroko'", in his *THE RELIGION OF THE YORUBA*, pp. 409-414. Lagos:C.M.S. Bookshop.

953. ____ (1965), *YORUBA LANGUAGE:ITS STRUCTURE AND RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER LANGUAGES*. Lagos:Orekigbe Press.

954. **Lugard, F.D.** (1928), "The International Institute of African Languages and Cultures", *AFRICA* 1:1-12.

955. **Lukas, Johannes** (1942), "Das afrikanische verkehrssprachenproblem". (On the problem of African Lingua Franca.), *BEITRAGE ZUR KOLONIALFORSCHUNG* 2:15-24.

956. ____ (1943), "Zur Entwicklung der afrikanischen verkehrssprachen". (On the Development of the African Lingua Franca.), *BEITRAGE KOLONIALFORSCHUNG, TAGUNGSBAND* 1:118-127.

957. **Lyon, Martin** (1985), *AN AFRICAN-LANGUAGE GLOSSARY FOR CATALOGUERS*. London:School of Oriental and African Languages, University of London.

[Yoruba is one of the Niger-Congo languages covered in the glossary.]

958. **Macauley, Juliet I** (1973), "Innovative Approaches in Teaching English as a Second Language", in *ATEA*, (see A.B. Fafunwa), pp. 52-65.

[Contains some recommendations on the systematic teaching of Yoruba in schools.]

959. **MacClure, H.D. and J.O. Oyewale** (1967), *YORUBA INTERMEDIATE TEXT*. Washington D.C.:Department of State,

Foreign Service Institute.

960. **MacDougald, Duncan** (1944), *THE LANGUAGE AND PRESS OF AFRICA* (African Handbook, 4.) Philadelphia:University of Pennsylvania Press.
961. **Maddieson, I.** (ed.) (1970), *TONE IN GENERATIVE PHONOLOGY*. (Research Notes, 3, 2/3.) Ibadan, Nigeria:The Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages, University of Ibadan.
962. ____ (1972), "Tone System Typology and Distinctive Features", *PROCEEDINGS OF THE 7TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PHONETIC SCIENCES HELD AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MONTREAL AND MCGILL UNIVERSITY, 22-28 AUGUST 1971*, edited by Andre Rigault and Rene Charbonneau, pp. 957-961. The Hague:Mouton.

[Languages discussed are Yoruba, Yala and Jukun.]
963. ____ (1974a), "A Note on Tone and Consonant", *UCLA WORKING PAPERS IN PHONETICS* (Los Angeles) 27:18-27.

[Attempts to derive the three-tone system of Yoruba from the two-tone system of Niger-Congo through a split conditioned by a fortis/lenis distinction.]
964. ____ (ed.) (1974b), *AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON TONE*. (UCLA Working Papers in Phonetics, 28.) Los Angeles.

[Includes some works written on Yoruba.]
965. ____ (1974c), "A Possible New Cause of Tone-Splitting:Evidence from Cama, Yoruba and Other Languages", *STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS, SUPPLEMENT* 5:205-221.
966. ____ (1976), "A Further Note on Tone and Consonant", *UCLA WORKING PAPERS IN PHONETICS* (Los Angeles) 33:131-159.

[Yoruba is one of the languages used for exemplification.]
967. ____ (1978), "Universals of Tone", in *UNIVERSALS OF HUMAN LANGUAGE 2:PHONOLOGY*, edited by J.H. Greenberg, pp. 335-366. Stanford: University Press.

[Yoruba is included in his classification.]
968. ____ (1979), "Top Spacing:Evidence from Bilingual Speakers", *UCLA WORKING PAPERS IN PHONETICS* (Los Angeles) 45:84-88.

[Among the subjects is an adult male Edo/Yoruba speaker.]

969. ____ (1985), "Borrowed Sounds", *UCLA WORKING PAPERS IN PHONETICS* (Los Angeles) 61:51-61.

[Includes the discussion of some loan segments from English into Yoruba.]

970. **Maddieson, I. and Karen Emoren** (1985), "Cross-linguistic Issues in the Relationship between Semi-Vowels and Vowels (With Special Reference to Amharic, Yoruba, Zuni)", *UCLA WORKING PAPERS IN PHONETICS* 61:87-98.

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[Languages discussed are Yoruba, Amharic and Zuni.]

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[Makes reference to the correspondence between Pidgin and Nigerian languages especially Yoruba which "seems to be the most important substrate of the variety of Nigerian Pidgin being described", p. 109.]

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[An Egba myth, written in German with explanatory notes.]

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[Yoruba is one of the languages used for exemplification.]

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[Translates some Yoruba poetry into Spanish.]

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[Includes some Yoruba proverbs.]

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[Discusses Yoruba, Ibo and Hausa.]

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[The influence of Yoruba is noted.]

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[Includes some Yoruba derived words in Brazilian Portuguese.]
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[A report from "a careful enquiry made, on a ... tour round the outstations of the ... 2nd Battalion of Northern Nigerian Regiment", p. 43. The languages listed include Yoruba and Akoko.]
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1012. **Millson, Alvan** (1891), "Indigenous Plants of Yorubaland", *KEW BULLETIN*, pp. 206-219.

[Includes the Yoruba translations of the plants listed.]
1013. **Mohamed, Aliyu** (1974), "The Search for a Lingua Franca and Standard in Nigerian Education", *NIGERIA MAGAZINE* 110/122:95-100.

[The discussion focuses on the three major Nigerian languages and English.]
1014. **Monahan, K.P.** (1982), "Grammatical Relations and Anaphora in Malayalam", *MONTREAL WORKING PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS* 17:101-118.

[One of the requirements of Chomsky's Binding Theory is that an anaphor should be bound in its governing category. An element is bound in domain *x* if the said element is C-commanded by a coindexed antecedent in *x*: if an element is not bound, then it is free in a given domain. Monahan (1982:182) uses some examples such as "Tolu, sofun Segun pe oun, sanra" (Tolu told Segun that he is fat) to show that Yoruba is one of the languages which violate these requirements because this sentence contains an anaphor oun that is free in its governing category.]

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1020. **Mukarovsky, H.G.** (1963), "Some Reflections on a Nigerian Class Language", *WIENER VOLKERKUNDLICHE MITTEILUNGEN* 6,1/4:65-83.

[Includes some Yoruba vocabularies.]

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[Languages used for illustration are Amharic, Hopi, Japanese, Korean, Navajo, Papago, Pima, Polish, Yoruba and Zuni.]

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[Lists 61 audiocassette and videocassette foreign language training programs in 35 languages from Amharic to Yoruba. To receive a free copy of the Foreign Language Catalog, write to The National Audiovisual Center, National Archive and Records Administration, Customer Service PF, 8700 Edgewood Drive, Capitol Heights, MD 20743-3701.]

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[Most of the vegetables listed still maintain their Yoruba names.]

1029. **Nicol, Fred and S.F. Olumokun**, revised by Charles K. Olumokun Nicol (1949), "Origins and Orthography of the Krio Language", *WEST AFRICAN REVIEW* 20:901-903.

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[Includes the syllabus on Yoruba, pp. 27-39.]
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[Yoruba is one of the languages used for illustration.]
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[*"Recent experiment in Ife on the teaching of science through the medium of Yoruba is noteworthy in that it revealed that science can be effectively taught and learnt when the medium of instruction and the curriculum materials are homogenous with the culture of the child" p. 14.*]

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1067. **Nylander, K.D.** (1985), "Serial Verbs and the Empty Category Principle in Krio", *CANADIAN JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS* 30,1:15-32.

[*Some of the examples used for comparison are taken from Yoruba.*]

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[*Languages used for exemplification includes Baule, Fula, Kposso, Yoruba, Swahili, Kru, Serer and Temne.*]

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[*Uses some Yoruba examples.*]

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[Some comparisons are made between Creole and Yoruba.]

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[Investigates the dimension of sex among Yoruba-English (YBE) bilingual secondary school pupils learning the French language.]

1073. ____ (1984), "The Child's Language Behaviour Pattern as a Guide to Language Development", *THE NIGERIAN LANGUAGE TEACHER* 6,1:1-7.

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[Yoruba native speakers are used in the study.]

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1088. ____ (1972), "Vido-vremannaja Sistema jazyka Joruba". (Aspect and Tense - grammatical system of Yoruba) *PROBLEMY AFRIKA JAZYKOZNANIJA*, pp. 240-259.
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[Discusses some of the loan words received from the Arabic language by Yoruba through Hausa.]
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[Provides linguistic evidence to show that the Yoruba

brought with them from their Near-Eastern origins certain features of Arab and Jewish civilizations, with which they had come into contact.]

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1236. **Perry, Ruth** (1955), "New Sources for Research in Nigerian History", *AFRICA* 25,4:430-436.

[One of the suggestions made is that non-African historian should "master enough of the principal vernaculars, such as Yoruba and Hausa, to include in his sources the additional material which exists in those languages", p. 432.]

1237. **Peruchon, J.F.** (1956), "Notes sur les Nyanturuku - Yoruba des cercles de Djougou et Sokode". (Notes on 'Nyanturuku' - Yoruba of the region/family of Djougou and Sokode.) *ETUDE DAHOMEENNES* 16:21-45.

1238. **Peterson, John** (1968), "The Sierra Leone Creole: A Reappraisal", in *FREETOWN: A SYMPOSIUM*, edited by Christopher Fyfe and Elderred Jones, pp. 100-118. Freetown: Sierra Leone University Press.

1239. **Pierson, Donald** (1942), *NEGRO IN BRAZIL*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

[One "still today finds Nago at times spoken in Bahia and an occasional individual whose command of the language is

comparable to his command of Portuguese", p. 72.]

1240. **Pike, K.A.** (1948), *TONE LANGUAGES: A TECHNIQUE FOR DETERMINING THE NUMBER AND TYPE OF PITCH CONTRASTS IN A LANGUAGE, WITH STUDIES IN TONEMIC SUBSTITUTION AND FUSION*. (University of Michigan Publication in Linguistics, 4.) Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press. See a review of the work by John Samarin *AFRICA* (1951) 21,4:339-340.

["What Professor Ward and her colleagues have done in alerting Africanists to the importance of tone in African Languages, Dr. Pike has done in suggesting a methodology of studying tonal data" (Samarin 1951:340).]

1241. **Poku, O.K.** (1948), "We Must Develop and Preserve Our Vernacular", *THE WEST AFRICAN REVIEW* 19,251:900-901.

1242. **Porter, A.** (1963), *CREOLEDOM*. London: Oxford University Press.

[States that one of the characteristics that divided the 'Christian Creole' society from the 'Aku Muslim' society was that the former spoke English and Krio, while the latter spoke Yoruba. See A. Banton above.]

1243. **Porter, D.B.** (ed.) (1970), "Nigeria", in his *A CATALOGUE OF THE AFRICAN COLLECTION IN THE MOORLAND FOUNDATION, HOWARD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY*, pp. 150-180. Washington D.C.: Howard University Press for the Moorland Foundation and the Program of African Studies.

1244. **Price, H.L.** (1925), *YORUBA PHRASE BOOK WITH PHONETIC SPELLINGS*. Lagos: C.M.S. Bookshop.

1245. **Prothero, Mansell R.** (1962), "African Ethnographical Maps, with a New Example from Northern Nigeria", *AFRICA* 32,1:61-64.

[Includes areas where Yoruba is spoken in the Northern Nigeria.]

1246. **Pulleyblank, Douglas** (1986), *TONE IN LEXICAL PHONOLOGY*. Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Co.

[A case study of a number of languages including Dschang-Bamileke, Margi, Tiv, Tonga and Yoruba.]

1247. ____ (1987a), "Niger-Kordofanian Languages", in *THE WORLD'S MAJOR LANGUAGES*, (see Bernard Comrie), pp. 957-970.

1248. ____ (1987b), "Yoruba", in *THE WORLD'S MAJOR LANGUAGES*, (see Bernard Comrie), pp. 971-990.

1249. **Raban, John** (1830), *A VOCABULARY OF THE EYO OR AKU (YORUBA), A DIALECT OF WEST AFRICA*, 1. London. C.M.S. Bookshop.
1250. _____ (1831), *A VOCABULARY OF THE EYO OR AKU (YORUBA), A DIALECT OF WEST AFRICA*, 2. London: C.M.S. Bookshop.
1251. _____ (1832), *THE EYO VOCABULARY*, 3. London: C.M.S. Bookshop.
1252. **Raymon, Hickey** (1986), "More than a Vernacular", *WEST AFRICA*, May 26, pp. 1111-1112.
- [Includes some comparison of Hausa as an international language with Swahili, Yoruba and Igbo.]*
1253. **Reh, Mechthild** (1981), *PROBLEMS OF LINGUISTIC COMMUNICATION IN AFRICA*. (African Linguistic Bibliographies, 1) Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- [Yoruba: pp. 118-20, 122-26, 128.]*
1254. **Reinecke, John E.** (1937), "Marginal Languages: A Sociological Survey of the Creole Language and Trade Jargons." Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University.
- [Notices that Yoruba language was spoken until the 20th century in Brazil and Cuba.]*
1255. **Reyburn, William D.** (1963), "The Penetration of World's Languages into Africa", *PRACTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY* 10,6:259-270.
1256. **Rice, Frank A.** (ed.) (1962), *STUDY OF THE ROLE OF SECOND LANGUAGE IN ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistic of Modern Language Association of America.
1257. **Richard, Alain** (1978), "Multilinguisme et production litteraire au Nigeria". (Multilingualism and literary production in Nigeria.) *WEST AFRICAN JOURNAL OF MODERN LANGUAGES* 3:106-112.
1258. **Richter, Renate** (1972), "Zur Bedeutung einer nationalen Sprachen politik in Rahmen der gesamtgesellschaftlichen Entwicklung an Beispiel Afrikas". (On the Significance of a National Language Policy with the Scope of Society Development with Reference to Africa.), *MITTEILUNGEN DES INSTITUT FÜR ORIENTFORSCHUNG* 17,3:347-155.
1259. _____ (1977), "Bermerkungen zur soziolinguistischen Erforschung afrikanische Sprachen". (Notes on the Sociolinguistic Research on African Languages.), *ZPSK*

27,4:287-295.

1260. **Roach, Peter** (1982) "On the Distinction between 'Stressed-Timed' and 'Syllable-Timed' Languages", in *LINGUISTIC CONTROVERSY*, edited by David Crystal, pp. 73-80. London:Edward Arnold.

["tape-recordings of the six languages listed by Abercombie (French, Telugu and Yoruba as syllable-timed and English, Russian and Arabic as stressed-timed) were examined", p. 74.]

1261. **Rotimi, Ola** (1977), *NIGERIAN PIDGIN ENGLISH DICTIONARY*. Ife, Nigeria:University Press.

1262. **Rowlands, E.** (1937), *A DICTIONARY OF THE YORUBA LANGUAGE*. London:Oxford University Press.

1263. ____ (1948), "Yoruba Booklets", *BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES* 12,2:486-487.

[Reviews some published books written in Yoruba, among them is J.O. Ajibola's OWE YORUBA. London:Oxford University Press.]

1264. ____ (1954), "Types of Word Junctions in Yoruba", *BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES* 16,11:376-388.

1265. ____ (1955), "The Mid-Tone in Yoruba", in *AFRIKANISTISCHE STUDIEN*, edited by J. Lukas, pp. 333-336. Berlin:Institut für Orientforschung, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.

1266. ____ (1957), "Some Features of Nasalized Vowels in Yoruba", *AKTEN DES 24. INTERNATIONALEN ORIENTALISTEN-KONGRESSES, MUNICH, 1957*, pp. 719-721.

1267. ____ (1959), "Stress and Tone in Yoruba Word Composition", *LINGUA* 8:385-402.

1268. ____ (1963), "Yoruba and English:The Problem of Co-Existence", *AFRICAN LANGUAGE STUDIES* 4:208-214.

1269. ____ (1965), "Yoruba Dialects in the Polyglotta Africana", *SIERRA LEONE LANGUAGE REVIEW* 4:103-108.

[Includes both the phonological and lexical features.]

1270. ____ (1967), "The Illustration of a Yoruba Proverb", *JOURNAL OF FOLKLORE INSTITUTE* 4,2/3:25-64.

1271. ____ (1968), "Outline Notes on Some Problems of Dictionary in Yoruba", *PROCEEDINGS OF THE STAFF SEMINARS*

1967/68, *SCHOOL OF ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF LAGOS*, pp. 213-222.

1272. ____ (1969), *TEACH YOURSELF YORUBA*. London:English University Press.
1273. ____ (1970), "Ideophones in Yoruba", *AFRICAN LANGUAGE STUDIES* 11:289-297.
1274. **Rowling, Cannon F.** (1939), "The Mother Tongue for African Readers", *JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL AFRICAN SOCIETY* 38:133-144.

[Includes the discussion of books published in Yoruba language.]

1275. **Rufai, A.** (1970), "The Question of National Language in Nigeria:Problems and Prospects", in *LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC PROBLEMS IN AFRICA*, edited by P.F.A. Kotey and H. Der Houssikian, pp. 68-83. Columbia:Hornbeam Press.
1276. **Ruhlen, Merrit** (1978), "Nasal Vowels", in *UNIVERSALS OF HUMAN LANGUAGE 2:PHONOLOGY*, edited by J.H. Greenberg, pp. 203-242. Stanford:University Press.

[Yoruba is one of the languages classified.]

1277. ____ (1987), "Niger-Kordofanian", in his *A GUIDE TO THE WORLD'S LANGUAGES. VOLUME 1:CLASSIFICATION*, pp. 95-106. Stanford:Stanford University Press.
1278. **Ryder, A.F.C.** (1984), "From the Volta to Cameroon", in *GENERAL HISTORY OF AFRICA 4:AFRICA FROM THE 12-16TH CENTURY*, edited by D.T. Niane, pp. 339-370. Unesco, California:Heinemann.

[Discusses some aspects of linguistic analyses of some of the ethnic groups living between the Volta and the Cameroon. Topics discussed include kinship, ecology and language.]

1279. **Sachnine, Micka** (1985), "Les etudes yoruba:approche bibliographique", *BULLETIN DES ETUDES AFRICAINES DE L'INACO* 5,9:83-120.
1280. **Sadler, G.W.** (1950), *A CENTURY IN NIGERIA*. Nashville, U.S.A.:Broadman Press.

[Touches upon the influence of the Baptist Mission on language education in Nigeria.]

1281. **Sadock, J.M. and A.M. Zwicky** (1985), "Speech Act Distinctions in Syntax", in *LANGUAGE TYPOLOGY AND SYNTACTIC DESCRIPTION 1:CLAUSE STRUCTURE*, edited by

Timothy Shopen, pp. 155–196. Cambridge:University Press.

[Includes some Yoruba examples.]

1282. **Salami, A** (1969), "English Loanwords in Yoruba." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London.
 1283. ____ (1973), "Vowel and Consonant Harmony and Vowel Restriction in Assimilated English Words in Yoruba", *AFRICAN LANGUAGE STUDIES* 13:162–181. Revised with the new orthography and published in *YORUBA LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE*, (see A. Afolayan), pp. 118–144.
 1284. ____ (1977), *YORUBA PERSONAL NAMES: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE SIGNIFICANCE AND USE OF PERSONAL NAMES IN YORUBA*. Lagos:Cross Continent. Revised, enlarged and up-dated with Yoruba examples in the new orthography. To be published by the University of Ife Press, Ile-Ife.
 1285. **Salami, L.O.** (1986), "Social Structures in Yoruba Phonology: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of the Variable Use of the Yoruba Shibboneth (SH) in Ile-Ife, Nigeria", *UNIVERSITY OF EAST ANGLIA WORKING PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS* 24:22–48.
 1286. ____ (1987), "The Social Patterning of Variation in Spoken Yoruba in the Ile-Ife, Nigeria." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Sussex.
 1287. **Samarin, W.J.** (1952), "Intonation in Tone Languages", *AFRICAN STUDIES* (Johannesburg) 11:80–82.
 1288. ____ (1962), "Lingua Francas, with Special Reference to Africa", in *STUDY OF ROLE OF SECOND LANGUAGE IN ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA*, (see Frank A. Rice), pp. 54–64.
 1289. ____ (1965), "Perspectives on African Ideophone", *AFRICAN STUDIES* 24:17–21.
 1290. **Schachter, P.** (1971), "The Present State of African Linguistics", in *CURRENT TRENDS IN LINGUISTICS, VOLUME 7*, (see T.A. Sebeok), pp. 30–44.
 1291. ____ (1974), "A Non-Transformational Account of Serial Verbs", *STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS, SUPPLEMENT* 5:253–270.
 1292. **Schaefer, R.P.** (1985), "Towards a Universal Semantic Categories for Human Body", *LINGUISTICS* 23,3:391–410.
- [Data taken from English, Japanese, Tswana and Yoruba.]*
1293. **Scheneider, John T.** (1985), "Sub-Saharan Cultural Extensions in Brazil: The Relevance of Lexical Data Source",

STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS 16,2:223-234.

[Languages discussed include Yoruba.]

1294. **Scheven, Yvette** (1987), *BIBLIOGRAPHIES FOR AFRICAN STUDIES, 1970-1985*. London:Hans Zell Publishers.
1295. **Schmidt, P.W.** (1930), "The Use of Vernacular in Education in Africa", *AFRICA* 3:137-149.
1296. **Schwab, William** (1955), "Kinship and Lineage among the Yoruba", *AFRICA* 18:252-274.
1297. ____ (1958), "The Terminology of Kinship and Marriage among the Yoruba", *AFRICA* 25:301-313.
1298. **Scotton, Carol Myers** (1975), "Multilingualism in Lagos - What It Means to the Social Scientist", in *PATTERNS IN LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND SOCIETY, SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA*. (Working Papers in Linguistics, 19), edited by Robert K. Herbert, pp. 78-90. Ohio:Ohio State University.
1299. **Seba, Mark** (1984), "Serial Verbs:Something New out of Africa", *YORK PAPERS IN LINGUISTICS* 11:271-278.

[Exemplifies with Ijo, Twi, Yoruba and Sranan.]

1300. **Sebeok, Thomas A.** (ed.) (1971), *CURRENT TRENDS IN LINGUISTICS 7. LINGUISTICS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA*. The Hague:Mouton. See reviews of the work by Herbert Stahlke in *LANGUAGE* (1974) 50,1:195-204; Harzel Carter in *BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES* (1972) 25:668-670 AND B. Heine in *AFRIKA UND UBERSEE* (1973) 56:215-218.

[Includes discussions on Yoruba.]

1301. ____ (1976), *CURRENT TRENDS IN LINGUISTICS 14:INDEXES*. The Hague:Mouton.

[Indexes to Volumes 1-13. Topics treated include (i): contents; (ii): authors; (iii): languages; (iv): names; (v): subjects; and (vi): bibliographical notes. See the index to Volume 7 on African Languages.]

1302. **Sekoni, O.** (1977), "Mechanism and Meaning in Yoruba Ijala", *BA SHIRU* 8,1:31-36.
1303. **Shaplin, M.L. and J.T. Shaplin** (1969), *SELECTED ASPECTS OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA WITH RECOMMENDATION*. Lagos:Ford Foundation.
1304. **Shaw, Thurstan** (1978), "Peoples and Languages", in his

NIGERIA: ITS ARCHAEOLOGY AND EARLY HISTORY, pp. 89-95.
London: Thames and Hudson.

1305. **Shelby, Barbara** (1978), *GLOSSARY FOR THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF JORGE AMADO: TENT OF MIRACLE* New York: Bard Books, Avon.

[Includes some Yoruba derived words in Brazilian Portuguese.]

1306. **Shopen, Timothy** (1965), "Index of Some of the UCLA Linguistic Phonetic Research 1964-65", *UCLA WORKING PAPERS IN PHONETICS* 2:27-36.

[Includes some recordings taken from a Yoruba speaker.]

1307. **Shoyinka, J.F.** (1953), *GBEDEGBEYO HAUSA*. Ebute Metta: Iyera.

1308. **Siertsema, B.** (1958a), "Problems of Phonemic Interpretation: Nasalized Sounds in Yoruba", *LINGUA* 7,4:356-366.

1309. ____ (1958b), "Some Notes on Yoruba Phonemic and Spelling", *BULL IFAN* 20 (B):576-596.

1310. ____ (1959a), *A TEST IN PHONETICS: 500 QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION AND HOW TO TEACH IT IN WEST AFRICA*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

[Includes how some English words are mispronounced by the Yoruba and ways by which mispronunciation can be corrected.]

1311. ____ (1959b), "Problems of Phonemic Interpretation II: Long Vowels in a Tone Language", *LINGUA* 8,1:42-64.

1312. ____ (1959c), "Three Yoruba Dictionaries (L. Cabrera, I.O. Delano, R.C. Abraham)", *BULL IFAN* 21:572-579.

1313. ____ (1959d), "Stress and Tone in Yoruba Word Composition", *LINGUA* 8:385-402.

1314. ____ (1962), "Timber, Pitch and Intonation", *LINGUA* 11:388-398.

[Uses Yoruba examples for pitch patterns and tonal contour.]

1315. ____ (1963), "Introductory Talk on Tone", *ACTE DE 2ND COLLOQUE INTERNATIONAL DE LINGUISTIQUE NEGRO-AFRICAINE, DAKAR, 12-16 APRIL*, pp. 55-66 and 122-126.

1316. **Silva, Edson Nunes D.A.** (1958), *INTRODUCAO AO ESTUDO GRAMMATICAL DA LINGUA YORUBA:EDUCAO CONJUNTA COM A UNIVERSIADADE*. Salvador, Brazil:Progresso.
1317. **Silverstein, Raymond** (1973), "Igalá Historical Phonology." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
[Includes the comparison of Yoruba and Igalá tones.]
1318. **Simpson, Ekundayo** (1979), *TRANSLATING IN NIGERIAN MASS MEDIA:A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY*. Quebec:International Center for Research on Bilingualism (Publication B-87.)
1319. **Sims, Michael and Alfred Kagan** (1976), *AMERICAN AND CANADIAN DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS AND MASTER'S THESES ON AFRICA, 1886-1974*. Waltham, Massachusetts:African Studies Association.
1320. **Skalnik, Peter** (1968), "African Studies in Czechoslovakia: Achievements and Prospects", *AFRICAN STUDIES BULLETIN* 12,2:213-222.
[Includes P. Zima's work on tone languages in West Africa and language contact in Africa.]
1321. **Skinner, A. Neil** (1985), *HAUSA LEXICAL EXPANSION SINCE 1930:MATERIAL SUPPLEMENTARY TO THAT CONTAINED IN BARGERY'S DICTIONARY, INCLUDING WORDS BORROWED FROM ENGLISH, ARABIC, FRENCH AND YORUBA*. Madison:University of Wisconsin, African Studies Program.
1322. **Skinner, David and Barbara Harrell-Bond** (1977), "Misunderstandings Arising from the Use of the Term 'Creole' in the Literature on Sierra Leone", *AFRICA* 47,3:305-320.
[They claim that Aku (Yoruba) language is used in public meetings by both the Christian and Muslim Creole communities.]
1323. ____ (1981), "Creoles:A Final Comment", *AFRICA* 51,3:787.
[They still support the claim that the Aku (Yoruba) have a great impact on the Creole society.]
1324. **Smith, Timothy** (1966), "Index of Some of the UCLA Phonetic Research in 1965-1966", *UCLA WORKING PAPERS IN PHONETICS* (Los Angeles) 4:54-61.
[Includes some works written on Yoruba.]
1325. **Smith, W.E.** (1934), "The Story of the Institute:A Survey of Seven Years", *AFRICA* 7,1:1-27.

[The linguistic and literary work of the Institute is discussed under the following subheadings – the vernacular in education; the orthography of African languages; school books for Africa; the prize competition; bibliography and monographs.]

1326. **Societe de Mission Africaine de Lyon** (1884), *ESSAI DE GRAMMAIRE DE LANGUE YORUBA*. (Essay on the grammar of Yoruba.) Lyon:Societe de Mission Africaine.
1327. ____ (1925), *PREMIER LIVRE DE LECTURE EN YORUBA*. (First book of reading in Yoruba.) Lyon:Societe de Mission Africaine.
1328. **Sokoya, J.A.F.** (1977), "Ife University Language (Yoruba) Project:A Venture of Faith and Realized Hopes", *THE NIGERIAN LANGUAGE TEACHER* 1,1:21-24.
1329. **Sow, Alfa Ibrahim** (ed.) (1977), *LANGUES ET POLITIQUES DE LANGUES EN AFRIQUE NOIRE. L'EXPERIENCE DE L'UNESCO*. (Languages and Language Policies in Black Africa. The Practice of the Unesco) Paris:Nubia.
1330. **Sowande, E.J. et al** (1911), *ENGLISH-YORUBA DICTIONARY*. Lagos, Nigeria:C.M.S. Bookshop.
1331. ____ (1913), *A DICTIONARY OF THE YORUBA LANGUAGE*. London:Oxford University Press. Reprinted, London:Oxford University Press 1950, 1962.
1332. **Spencer, John** (1963), "Leverhulme Conference Working Party Report", in his *LANGUAGE IN AFRICA:PAPERS OF THE LEVERHULME CONFERENCE ON UNIVERSITIES AND THE LANGUAGE PROBLEMS OF TROPICAL AFRICA*, pp. 123-144. Cambridge:University Press. See a comprehensive review of the work by Istvan Fodor in *LINGUISTICS* (1966) 25:18-33.

[Topics discussed include (i) The University's responsibility in the sphere of English, French and Arabic. (ii) The University and African Language Studies. (iii) Choice of a National Language:Factors and Consequences. (iv) Linguistic Research.]

1333. ____ (ed.) (1966), "S.W. Koelle and the Problem of Notation for African Languages, 1847-1855", *SIERRA LEONE LANGUAGE REVIEW* 5:83-105.

[Includes the effects various Alphabetic Conferences on African Languages have on Koelle's notation.]

1334. ____ (1971), *THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN WEST AFRICA*. (The English Language Series.) London:Longman.

[Includes the description of "the varieties of English

involved in many cultures and many purposes" in West Africa, p. v.]

1335. ____ (1966), "Creole Attitudes Toward Krio", *SIERRA LEONE LANGUAGE REVIEW* 5:39-50.

[His views about the Creole and Krio are identical with those of A. Porter and M. Banton. See above.]

1336. ____ (1974), *THE CREOLES OF SIERRA LEONE: RESPONSES TO COLONIALISM, 1870-1945*. Madison: University of Madison Press.

["Those recaptives who were originally Yoruba and known in Sierra Leone as Aku remained exclusively far longer than others by virtue of their numbers, retaining their own language", p. 11.]

1337. Stahlke, Herbert, F.W. (1969), *SERIALIZATION AND DEEP STRUCTURE*. (PEGS Papers, No 67.) Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

1338. ____ (1970), "Serial Verbs (Yoruba and Yatye)" *STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS* 1,1:60-99.

1339. ____ (1971), "On the Status of Nasalized Vowels in Kwa", *PAPERS IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS* (Canada, Edmonton), pp. 239-248.

[Examples are quoted extensively from Yoruba.]

1340. ____ (1973a), "Ross's Constraints and Related Problems in Yoruba", *STUDIES IN LINGUISTIC SCIENCES* 3,1:192-230.

1341. ____ (1973b), "The n/l Alternation: A Minor Rule in Yoruba Phonology", *ISSUES IN LINGUISTICS: PAPERS IN HONOR OF HENRY AND RENEE KAHANE*, edited by Braj. B. Kachru, Robert B. Lees, Yakov Malkiel, Angelina Pietrangeli, and Sol Saporta, pp. 854-862. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

1342. ____ (1974a), "Pronouns and Islands in Yoruba", *STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS* 5:171-204.

1343. ____ (1974b), "Serial Verbs as Adverbs: A Reply to Paul Schachter", *STUDIES IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS SUPPLEMENT* 5:271-277.

1344. ____ (1976a), "The Development of the Three-Way Tonal Contrast in Yoruba", in *THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 3RD ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON AFRICAN LINGUISTICS, BLOOMINGTON*, pp. 139-145.

1345. ____ (1976b), "The Noun Prefix in Yoruba", in *PAPERS IN HONOR OF W.E. WELMERS*. (Studies in African Linguistics,

Supplement 6), edited by L.M. Hyman, pp. 243-253.

1346. ____ (1976c), "Which That", *LANGUAGE* 53,3:584-610.

[Discusses some aspects of relativization in English, Dari and Yoruba.]

1347. ____ (1977), "Some Problems with Binary Features of Tone", *INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF AMERICAN LINGUISTICS* 43:1-10.

[Yoruba is one of the languages in which Woo's framework for tone "seem(s) to work well", p. 4.]

1348. **Stassen, Leone** (1985), *COMPARISON AND UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. See a review of the work by P.K. Anderson in *JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS* (1987), 23,1:209-216.

[Yoruba is one of the languages used in the comparative studies.]

1349. **Sterk, J.P.** (1975), "The Ordering of Derivational Tones in Yoruba", in the *PROCEEDINGS OF THE 6TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON AFRICAN LINGUISTICS*, edited by R.K. Herbert, pp. 116-124. Columbus, Ohio.

1350. **Stervick, W.** (1965), "Pitch and Duration in Two Yoruba Idiolects", *JOURNAL OF AFRICAN LINGUISTICS* 4:85-101.

1351. ____ (1967), "The Teaching of African Languages in the United States since 1961", *AFRICAN STUDIES BULLETIN* 10,1:16-21.

1352. **Stervick, Earl W. and Aremu Olaleye** (1963), *YORUBA BASIC COURSE*. Washington: U.S. Department of State, Foreign Service Institute.

1353. **Stewart, J.M.** (1971), "Niger-Congo-Kwa", in *CURRENT TRENDS IN LINGUISTICS* 7, (see T. Sebeok), pp. 179-212.

1354. ____ (1976), *TOWARDS VOLTA-CONGO RECONSTRUCTION*. Leiden: University Press.

1355. **Stopa, Roman** (1960), *THE EVOLUTION OF CLICK SOUNDS IN SOME AFRICAN LANGUAGES*. Krakow: Nakladem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

[Makes reference to Yoruba.]

1356. **Struck, Bernhard** (1911a), "Linguistic Bibliography of Northern Nigeria Including Hausa and Fula with Notes on the Yoruba Dialects, 1", *JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY* 11:47-61.

1357. ____ (1911b), "Linguistic Bibliography of Northern Nigeria Including Hausa and Fula with Notes on the Yoruba Dialects, 2", *JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY* 11:213-230.
1358. ____ (1913), "An Outline Map of the Linguistic Families of Africa", *JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY* 12:124-125.
1359. **Sulima, V.L.** (1967a), "Konstrukcija Glagol'naja Cepocka V Jazyke Joruba". (Construction of verbal chain in Yoruba.) *V NAUCNOM POISKE*, pp. 575-593.
1360. ____ (1967b), "Vydritel' 'naja i emfaticeskaja casticy v jazyke Joruba". (Definition and Focus Particles in Yoruba.) *PROBLEM FILOL*, pp. 573-593.
1361. ____ (1974), "Reduplici rovanne otglagol' noe v jazyke Joruba". (Nouns derived from verbs by reduplication in Yoruba.) *VOPROSY AFRIKANSKOJ FILOLOJI*, pp. 133-143.
1362. **Swed, John F. and Roger D. Abrahams with Robert Baron, Linda Rabben, Richard Riachelson, Beverly Robinson, Robert Uille and Richard Wright** (1978a), *AFRO-AMERICAN FOLK CULTURE, AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MATERIAL FROM NORTH, CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA AND WEST INDIES, 1: NORTH AMERICA*. Philadelphia: Institute for the study of Humanities.

[Includes works written on the influence of Yoruba on the American languages.]
1363. ____ (1978b), *AFRO-AMERICAN FOLK CULTURE, AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MATERIAL FROM NORTH, CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA AND WEST INDIES 2: THE WEST INDIES, CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA*. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Humanities.

[Includes works written on the influence of Yoruba on the American Languages.]
1364. **Sylvain, Suzanne** (1936), *LE CREOLE HAITIEN*. Wetteren: Impr. de Miester.

[Includes the discussion of the African base of the morpheme classes, noun and verb phrases of Haitian Creole. See Douglas Taylor's comments on the work in INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF AMERICAN LINGUISTICS (1965) 11,3:140-155.]
1365. **Tabouret-Keller, A** (1971), "Language Use in Relation to the Growth of Towns in West Africa: A Survey of International Migration", *REVIEW* 5:180-203.

[Some Yoruba towns such as Ife, Iwo, Ogbomosho and Oshogbo are included in the study.]

1366. **Taiwo, C.O.** (Chairman) (1968), *REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE REVIEW OF THE PRIMARY EDUCATION SYSTEM IN THE WESTERN STATE OF NIGERIA*. Ibadan, Nigeria:Ministry of Education.

[Suggests when the mother tongue could be used as medium of instruction in the classroom.]

1367. ____ (1972), *THE MOTHER TONGUE AS A MEANS OF PROMOTING EQUAL ACCESS TO EDUCATION IN NIGERIA*. Paris:Unesco.

1368. ____ (1976), "Nigerian Language Problems and Solutions", *PROSPECTS* 6,3:406-415.

1369. **Talabi, M.A.** (comp.) (1968), *ENGLISH, YORUBA AND ROMAN NUMERALS, PARTS 1 AND 2*. (Published Mainly for Adults and School Children in Yorubaland.) Ibadan:United Fountain Press.

1370. **Talbort, P.A.** (1926), *LINGUISTICS AND STATISTICS, THE PEOPLE OF SOUTHERN NIGERIA:A SKETCH OF THEIR HISTORY, ETHNOLOGY AND LANGUAGES*. London:Oxford University Press. Reproduced by Frank Cass, London, 1969.

1371. **Tamuno, O.G. and G.A. Alabi** (comp.) (1977), *NIGERIAN PUBLICATIONS 1950-1970*. Ibadan, Nigeria:University Press. 433 pp.

1372. **Taylor, Douglas** (1977), *LANGUAGES OF WEST INDIES*. Baltimore:John Hopkins University Press.

[Includes the discussion of the syntactic similarities between African languages and Afro-American speech.]

1373. **Thomas, N.W.** (1917), "Tones and Melody (Yoruba and Kurukuru)", *MAN* 17:98-99.

1374. ____ (1925), "The Languages", in *THE NORTHERN TRIBES OF NIGERIA, 2*, by C.K. Meek, pp. 132-147.

[Yoruba is one of languages discussed.]

1375. **Thompson, P. Drummond** (1963), "English in the Commonwealth:Nigeria", *ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING* 17,4:152-158.

[The influence of the local languages on English in Nigeria is discussed.]

1376. **Tidjani, Abdou Serpos** (1943), "Formes differentes en Yoruba". (Different forms in Yoruba.) *NOTES AFRICAINES* 17:4-5.

1377. **Tiffen, Brian W.** (1975), "English vs African Languages as the Medium of Education in African Primary Schools", in *CONFLICT AND HARMONY IN EDUCATION IN TROPICAL AFRICA*, edited by G. Brown and M. Hiskett, pp. 309-315. London:Allen and Unwin.
1378. **Tiheho, I.C.** (1977), "Nicolas Guillen, the 'Cuban-Yoruba' Poet", *NGAM* 1,2:37-65.

[See Olabiyi Yai (1976).]
1379. **Timothy-Asobele, Jide** (1984), "The Preparation of English, French and Yoruba for the School System", *THE NIGERIAN LANGUAGE TEACHER* 6,1:38-46.
1380. **Tomori, S.H.O.** (1965a), *IWE AKOKA FUN AWON AGBA:AN EXPERIMENTAL YORUBA PRIMER FOR ADULT LEARNERS*. Ibadan, Nigeria:Department of Adult Education and Extra Mural Studies, University of Ibadan. .
1381. ____ (1965b), "The Role of Vernacular in Education", *WEST AFRICAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION* 9,2:83-85.
1382. ____ (1967a), *IWE KIKI FUN AWON AGBE ONITABA*. (Yoruba Reader for tobacco farmers.) Ibadan, Nigeria:Institute of African Adult Education, University of Ibadan.
1383. ____ (1967b), "A Study in the Syntactic Structure of the Written English of British and Nigerian Grammar School Pupils." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London.

[The influence of the indigenous languages on the written English of the Nigerian Grammar School pupils is noted.]
1384. ____ (1973), *THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION:INAUGURAL LECTURE*. Ibadan, Nigeria:University Press.
1385. ____ (1985), "Aspects of Language in Nigeria", in *NIGERIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE*, edited by Richard Olaniyan, pp. 284-305. Ikeja, Nigeria:Longman.
1386. **Tomori S.H.O. and J.T. Okedara** (1975), "A Comparative Study of the Learning of English as a Second Language by Literate and Illiterate Tobacco Farmers of Oyo North District", *JOURNAL OF THE NIGERIAN ENGLISH STUDIES ASSOCIATION* 9:19-38.
1387. **Tonkin, J.E.A.** (1971), "Some Aspects of Language from the Viewpoint of Social Anthropology, with Particular Reference to Multi-Lingual Situations in Nigeria." D.Phil Dissertation, Oxford University.
1388. **Toporova, I.N.** (1966), *MATERIALY K OPISANIJU*

FONOLOGICHESKIH SISTEM JAZYKOV MANDE I GVINEJSKOJ GRUPPY V SVJAZI S PROBLEMAMI TIPOLOGII. (Material for the description of the phonological systems of the languages Mande and those of the Guinea group – in connection with the questions of typology.) Moscow:Jazyki Afriki.

[Includes some discussions on Yoruba.]

1389. **Toy, Crawford H.** (1878), "The Yoruba Language", in *TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION* 9:19-38.

1390. **Toye, B.O. and S.O. Oderinde** (1981), *ABSTRACT OF IBADAN UNIVERSITY THESES AND DISSERTATIONS, 1964-1975.* Ibadan, Nigeria:Ibadan University Library.

[Includes some works written on the Yoruba language.]

1391. **Tucker, A.N.** (1950), "Obituaries:Ida Caroline Ward", *BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES* 13:542-547.

[Contains tributes and an address in Yoruba, the language on which she was working when she died. It also contains messages of appreciation in fourteen African languages, Yoruba included.]

1392. ____ (1964), "Systems of Tone-Marking in African Languages", *BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES* 27/3:594-611.

[Yoruba is one of the Languages mentioned.]

1393. ____ (1971), "Orthography and Convention in Sub-Saharan Africa", in *CURRENT TRENDS IN LINGUISTICS 7:LINGUISTICS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA*, (see T. Sebeok), pp.618-654.

1394. **Turner, Lorenzo Dow** (1942), "Some Contacts of Brazilian Ex-Slaves with Nigeria", *JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY* 27:55-67.

[Includes Yoruba influence on Bahian Negroes and language exchange.]

1395. ____ (1949), *AFRICANISMS IN GULLAH DIALECTS.* Chicago:The University of Chicago Press. See reviews of the work by Rave I. McDavid Jr. in *LANGUAGE* (1950) 26:323-333, E. Rowlands in *AFRICAN AFFAIRS* (1950) 49,194:349-350 and J.H. Greenberg in *JOURNAL OF AMERICAN FOLKLORE* 63:381-382.

[The influence of many African Languages, including Yoruba, on Gullah Dialect is discussed.]

1396. **Ubahakwe, Ebo** (1973), "Towards a National Language Policy in Nigerian Education", *IKENGA* 2,1:79-91.
1397. _____ (ed.) (1979), *VARIETIES AND FUNCTIONS OF ENGLISH IN NIGERIA*. Ibadan:African University Press. See a review of the work by Lorento Todd in *ENGLISH WORLD-WIDE* (1980) 1,1:141-143.

[Some of the papers discuss the influence of Yoruba on English.]
1398. **Ufomata, T.O.** (1986), "The Phonological Influence of English Upon Yoruba." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London. 353 pp.
1399. _____ (1986), "Notes on the Nasal Components of Yoruba", *BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES* 46,3:549-552.
1400. **Uldall, H.J.** (Chairman) (1956), "Report of the Linguistic Survey Committee", *WEST AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH 5TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS, MARCH, 1956, HELD AT THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, IBADAN*, pp. 115-117. Ibadan, Nigeria:University College.
1401. **Ulloa, Justo C.** (1978), "Contenido y Forma Yoruba en 'La Dolores rondon' de Savero Sarduy". (Content and form of Yoruba in 'la dolores rondon' by Savero Sarduy.) in *HOMENAJA A LYDIA CABRERA* (Ebano y Canela), edited by Reinaldo Sanchez, Jose Madrigal and Jose Sanchez-Boudy, pp. 241-150. Miami:Ed. Universal.
1402. **Ultan, Russel** (1978), "Size-Sound Symbolism", in *UNIVERSALS OF HUMAN LANGUAGE* 2, edited by J.H. Greenberg, pp. 525-568. Stanford: University Press.

[The languages classified include Yoruba.]
1403. **Umiker, Donna Jean** (1974), "Speech Surrogates:Drum and Whistle System", in *CURRENT TRENDS IN LINGUISTICS 12:LINGUISTICS AND ADJACENT ARTS AND SCIENCES*, edited by Thomas A. Sebeok, pp. 497-536. The Hague:Mouton.

[It includes the discussion of the relation of the Yoruba talking drum to its tones.]
1404. **Umoh, S.M.** (1971), "Nigeria's Multi-Ethno-Cultural Communication System and Its Influence upon Social and Business Behavior." Ph.D. Dissertation, United State International University, San Diego, California.
1405. **Unesco**, (1953), *AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND ENGLISH IN*

EDUCATION: A REPORT OF A MEETING OF EXPERTS ON THE USE IN EDUCATION OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES IN RELATION TO ENGLISH, WHERE ENGLISH IS THE ACCEPTED 2ND LANGUAGE, HELD AT JOS, NIGERIA, NOVEMBER 1952. Paris:Unesco.

[The summary of the report of the meeting is as follows: Part 1:the ideal practice in language of instruction; Part 2:existing practice in territories concerned; Part 3:some causes for divergence from the ideal; Part 4:practical considerations and possible solutions; Part 5:recommendations, pp. 4-21.]

1406. ____ (1953), "Appendix 2:The Use of Vernacular Languages as Vehicles of Instruction, Both in School and out of School, and the Related Problems of Teaching in Languages Other Than the Vernacular in British Territories in Africa", in *AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND ENGLISH IN EDUCATION*, (ibid), pp. 67-90.

[The paper was prepared for Unesco by the International African Institute, expanded and revised by the Jos meeting.]

1407. ____ (1958), *VERNACULAR LANGUAGES IN EDUCATION*. (Monograph on Fundamental Education, 8.) Paris:Unesco.

[Report and papers of the meeting of experts on the use in education of indigenous and second language held at Paris, November-December 1951. The first edition was published in 1953 as THE USE OF VERNACULAR LANGUAGES IN EDUCATION. (Monograph on Fundamental Education, 7.)]

1408. ____ (1963), *SOCIAL SCIENTISTS SPECIALIZING IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES, DIRECTORY PREPARED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF UNESCO*. Paris:Mouton.

[Includes some Yoruba linguists.]

1409. ____ (1968), "The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education:The Report of the Unesco Meeting Specialists, 1951", in *READINGS OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGE*, edited by J.A. Fishman, pp. 688-716. The Hague:Mouton. See a review of the work by William Bull in *LANGUAGE IN CULTURE AND SOCIETY*, edited by Dell Hymes, pp. 527-533. New York:Harper and Row.

1410. ____ (1981), *AFRICAN LANGUAGES:PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF EXPERTS ON THE TRANSCRIPTION AND HARMONIZATION OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES, NAIMEY (NIGER) 17-21 JULY 1987*. Paris:Unesco.

1411. ____ (1985), *AFRICAN COMMUNITY LANGUAGES AND THEIR USE IN LITERACY AND EDUCATION:A REGIONAL SURVEY*. Neider, BP3311, Dakar, Senegal:Unesco Regional Office for

Education in Africa.

1412. **Valdman, Albert et al.** (1981), *HAITIAN CREOLE-ENGLISH-FRENCH DICTIONARY*. Bloomington:Creole Institute, Indiana University.

[Includes some Yoruba derived words in Haitian French.]

1413. **Van Name, Addison** (1870), "Contributions to Creole Grammar", *TRANSACTION OF THE AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION* 1:123-167.

[Dismisses the claim that African languages have some influence either directly or via reflexification on the speech of the Afro-Americans.]

1414. **Verger, P.** (1955), "Yoruba Influence in Brazil", *ODU* 1:3-11.

1415. _____ (1967), *AWON EWE OSANYIN:YORUBA MEDICAL LEAVES*. Ife, Nigeria:Institute of African Studies, University of Ife.

[Text in English and Yoruba.]

1416. _____ (1972), "Automatisme Verbal et Communication du Savoir chez les Yoruba". (Verbal automatism and communication of knowledge among the Yoruba.) *L'HOMME* 12,2:5-46.

1417. _____ (1978), "The Use of Plants in Yoruba Traditional Medicine and Its Linguistic Approach", *DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES SEMINAR SERIES*, 1, (see O.O. Oyelaran), pp. 243-295.

1418. **Vidal, O.E.** (1852), "Introductory Remarks on the Yoruba Language (Parallelism in Yoruba Poetry)", in *GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY OF THE YORUBA LANGUAGE*, (see S. Crowther), pp. 1-38.

1419. **Vidal Tunji** (1981), "The Tonemic and Melodic Character of the Yoruba Principal Chant", *BLACK ORPHEUS* 4,1:19-27.

1420. **Viereck, Wolfgang and Wolf-Dietrich Bald** (eds.) (1986), *ENGLISH IN CONTACT WITH OTHER LANGUAGES*. (Studies in Honour of Broder Carstensen on the occasion of his 60th birthday.) Budapest:Akademiai Kiado.

1421. **Voegelin C.F. and F.M. Voegelin** (1965), "Languages of the World:African Fascile, 1", *ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS* 6,5:339 pp. See a review by R.E. Wood in *WORD* (1979) 30,3:294-301.

1422. _____ (1966), "Index to Languages of the World:M-Z", *ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS* 8,7:202 pp.

[See reference to Yoruba on p. 196.]

1423. _____ (1977), "Yoruba" in their *CLASSIFICATION AND INDEX OF WORLD'S LANGUAGES*, p. 354. New York:Elsevier North-Holland Inc.
1424. **Voorhoeve, Jan** (1962), *SRANAN SYNTAX* Amsterdam.

[Notes some striking parallels between Sranan and some West African Languages especially Yoruba.]
1425. _____ (1971), "Church Creole and Pagan Cult Languages", in *PIDGINIZATION AND CREOLIZATION OF LANGUAGES*, edited by Dell Hymes, pp. 115-130. Cambridge:University Press.

[Touches upon the degree to which the speech of Afro-Americans was influenced by African Languages.]
1426. **Wakeman, C.** (1957), *A DICTIONARY OF THE YORUBA LANGUAGE*. London:Oxford University Press. Prev. eds. 1913, 1937, 1950.
1427. **Walker, W.B.** (1945), "The Place of Vernacular in African Education", *OVERSEAS EDUCATION* 16:60-62.
1428. **Wallis, Barry M.** (1978), "Diedrich Westermann's Die Sudansprachen and the Classification of the Languages of West Africa." Ph.D. Dissertation, North Western University.
1429. **Walsh, N.G.** (1967), "Distinguishing Types and Varieties of English in Nigeria", *JOURNAL OF THE NIGERIAN ENGLISH STUDIES ASSOCIATION* 2:47-55.

[Varieties distinguished include that of the Yoruba speakers of English.]
1430. **Ward, Ida Caroline** (1935), "A Linguistic Tour of Southern Nigeria: Certain Problems Restated", *AFRICA* 8:90-97.
1431. _____ (1937a), "Phonetic Phenomena in African Languages", *ARCHIV FUR VERGLEICHENDE PHONETIK* 1:51-52.
1432. _____ (1937b), *PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS FOR THE LEARNING OF AN AFRICAN LANGUAGE IN THE FIELD*. (Supplement to *AFRICA* 10,2), 39 pp.
1433. _____ (1939), "Tone in West African Languages", in *PROCEEDINGS OF THE 3RD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PHONETIC SCIENCES HELD AT THE UNIVERSITY OF GHENT 18-22 JULY 1938*, edited by Edgar Blancquaert and Willen Pee, pp. 383-388. Ghent:Laboratory of Phonetics of the University of Ghent.

[*"Yoruba, Ibo, Efik, Ewe, and Ga Languages of West Africa*

have more words for which one's understanding depends on tone alone than do the Twi, Hausa, Madingo and Wolof Languages", p. 384.]

1434. ____ (1948), "Verbal Tone Patterns in West African Languages", *BULLETIN OF THE ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES* 12:831-837.

[Illustrations taken from Yoruba, Ewe, Igbo, Efik and Twi.]

1435. ____ (1949), "Tonal Analysis of West African Languages", *ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR PHONETIK UND ALLGEMEINE SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT* 3:54-67.

[Intonation and its functions are examined in some West African Languages including Yoruba.]

1436. ____ (1952), *AN INTRODUCTION TO YORUBA LANGUAGE*. Cambridge:W. Heffer and Sons. See a review of the work by Diedrich Westermann in *AFRICA* (1953) 23,3:260-261.

["Professor Ward's book marks the beginning of a new epoch in the investigation of Yoruba: it is the first scientific study of the language" (Westermann 1953:260).]

1437. **Ward-Price, Henry Lewis** (1925), *YORUBA PHRASE BOOK WITH PHONETIC SPELLING*. Lagos, Nigeria:C.M.S Bookshop.

1438. **Warner, Maureen** (1970), "Some Yoruba Descendants in Trinidad", *ASAWI BULLETIN* 3:9-16.

[Includes the discussion of Yoruba language and African survivals.]

1439. ____ (1971), "Trinidad Yoruba:Notes on Survivals", *CARIBBEAN QUARTERLY* 17,2:40-49.

1440. **Warren, D.M., Tijani Abioye-Salami and Mary S. Warren** (1979), "Yoruba Terms Denoting Individual and Social Shortcomings", *MALEDICTA* 3,1:39-54.

1441. **Watkins, M.H.** (1972), "Yoruba Phonemes", *STUDIES IN LINGUISTICS IN HONOR OF GEORGE L. TRAGER*, edited by M. Estellie Smith, pp. 380-394. The Hague:Mouton.

1442. **Weil, Peter M.** (1968), "Language Distribution in the Gambia 1966/67", *AFRICAN LANGUAGE REVIEW* 7:100-106.

[Mentions the use of Aku (Krio) as home language of the detribalized Yoruba with English as public language.]

1443. **Weight, Ernst** (1972), "Bemerkungen zum problem der amtssprachen in Afrika". (Remarks on the Problems of Official Languages in Africa.), *ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR*

WIRTSCHAFTSGEOGRAPHIE 16:97-101.

1444. **Wells, J.C.** (1987), "Phonological Relationships in Caribbean and West African English", *ENGLISH WORLD-WIDE* 8,1:61-67.
1445. **Welmers, W.E.** (1953), "African Languages and Christian Missions", *CIVILIZATIONS* 3:545-564.
1446. ____ (1959a), "Tonemics, Morphotonemics and Tonal Morphemes", *GENERAL LINGUISTICS* 4:1-9.

[*"Until 1959 he was the only American specialist in the analysis and teaching of African languages", (T. Sebeok (1976:948), CURRENT TRENDS IN LINGUISTICS 14.)*]
1447. ____ (1959b), "A Survey of Major Languages of Africa", *LINGUISTIC REPORTER, SUPPLEMENT* 1:1-6.
1448. ____ (1961), *AFRICAN LANGUAGE PROGRAM: PROBLEMS AND PROPOSALS*. Los Angeles: University of California.
1449. ____ (1964), *A START IN YORUBA*. Los Angeles, CA: Nigerian Training Project.
1450. ____ (1966), *LEARNING YORUBA IN NIGERIA*. Oyo, Nigeria.
1451. ____ (1970a), "The Typology of the Proto-Niger Kordofanian Noun Class System", in *PAPERS IN AFRICAN LINGUISTICS*, edited by Chin-wu Kim and Herbert Stahlke, pp. 1-16. Edmonton: Linguistic Research Inc.

[*Yoruba is one of the languages discussed.*]
1452. ____ (1970b), "Language Change and Language Relationships in Africa", *LANGUAGE SCIENCES* 12:1-8.
1453. ____ (1971a), "Christian Missions and Language Policies in Africa", in *CURRENT TRENDS IN LINGUISTICS 7: LINGUISTICS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA*, (see T. Sebeok), pp. 559-569.
1454. ____ (1971b), "Checklist of African Languages and Dialect Names", in *CURRENT TRENDS IN LINGUISTICS 7: LINGUISTICS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA*, (see T. Sebeok), pp. 759-900.
1455. ____ (1973), *AFRICAN LANGUAGE STRUCTURES*. Berkeley: University of California Press. See a review of the work by R.J. Hayward in *BULLETIN OF THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES* (1974) 37:680-682.
1456. **Welmers, W.E. and Ruth C. Sloan** (1957), *A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF EXISTING RESOURCES FOR TRAINING AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS PREPARED FOR GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY'S INSTITUTE OF LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS*. Georgetown: University Press.

1457. **Wemyss, Stanley** (1950), "Yoruba", in his *THE LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD, ANCIENT AND MODERN: THE ALPHABETS, IDEOGRAPH, AND OTHER WRITTEN CHARACTERS OF THE WORLD, IN SOUND AND SYMBOL*, p. 122. Philadelphia: Stanley Wemyss.
1458. **Wente-Lukas, Renate**, with the assistance of Adam Jones (1985), "Yoruba", in their *HANDBOOK OF ETHNIC UNITS IN NIGERIA*, pp. 350-355. Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- [Discusses Yoruba under the following headings and subheadings: Antonym, Synonyms, Variants, Subgroups, Present Location, Previous Locations, Population, Language Affiliation, Name of Language and Literature.]*
1459. **Werner, Alice** (1907), "Language and Folklore in West Africa", *JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL AFRICAN SOCIETY* 6:65-83.
- [Includes Yoruba language and folklores.]*
1460. ____ (1909), "Yoruba Salutations", *JOURNAL OF THE AFRICAN SOCIETY* 7,30:187-192.
1461. ____ (1930), *STRUCTURE AND RELATIONSHIP OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES*. London, New York: Longman, Green.
1462. ____ (1967), "African Language and African Prehistory", in *RECONSTRUCTING AFRICAN CULTURE HISTORY*, edited by Creighton Gabel and Norman R. Bennett, pp. 45-54. Boston: University Press.
- [Includes examples from Yoruba.]*
1463. **Wescott, R** (1956), "Problems in Linguistic Anthropology", *WEST AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH 5TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS, MARCH 1956, HELD AT THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, IBADAN*, pp. 109-114. Ibadan, Nigeria: University College.
1464. ____ (1957), "Did Yoruba Come from Egypt?", *ODU* 4:10-15.
1465. **Wesleyan Missionary Society** (1897), *IWE KIKI EKINI TI EDE YORUBA*. (Yoruba Readers, Book 1.) London: Wesleyan Missionary Society.
1466. **Westermann, D.** (1925), "Place and Function of Vernacular in Africa", in *INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS* 14:25-36.
1467. ____ (1929), "The Linguistic Situation and Vernacular Literature in British West Africa: A Report", *AFRICA* 2,4:337-351.

["For a long time books have been published in one

standard dialect (of Yoruba) only, which is now recognized.... Yoruba possesses strong vitality and shows a tendency towards expansion", p. 341.]

1468. ____ (1929), *ALPHABETS FOR THE EFIK, IBO AND YORUBA LANGUAGES*. Lagos:Education Board.

1469. ____ (1931), *YORUBA TEXTE*. (Yoruba Text.) Berlin:Lautbibliothek Phonetische Platten und Umschriften.

[Phonographic record may be obtained.]

1470. ____ (1934a), "Language and Education", in his *THE AFRICAN TODAY*, with a foreword by Lord Lugard, pp. 241-262. London:Oxford University Press for the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.

1471. ____ (1934b), "The Standardisation of African Languages", *OVERSEAS EDUCATION* 6,1:1-7.

1472. ____ (1935), "Charakter und Einteilung der Sudansprachen". (Character and classification of the languages in Sudan.) *AFRICA* 8:129-148.

1473. ____ (1939a), "Vernacular Education in Africa:Yes or No?", *WEST AFRICAN REVIEW* 8,120:7-8.

1474. ____ (1939b), "The Study of African Languages:Present Results and Future Needs", *AFRICA* 12:12-26.

[Notes that a Yoruba dictionary and more material on dialectal members of the Yoruba Nupe groups are needed.]

1475. ____ (1940), "Sprache und Erziehung". (Language and Education.), in *VOLKERKUNDE VON AFRIKA*, edited by Hermann Baumann, Richard Tharwald, and Diedrich Westermann, pp. 374-452. Essen:Essener Verlagsanstalt.

1476. ____ (1944), "Form und Funktion der Reduplikation in einigen westafrikanischen Sprachen", *AFRICA* 3:83-104.

1477. ____ (1950), "Professor Ida Ward - An Appreciation", *AFRICA* 20:2-4.

[She paid several visits to West Africa to collect linguistic material, especially on the Efik, Ibo, Ibibio and Yoruba Languages ... her book on Yoruba was in the press at the time of her death", pp. 2-3.]

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